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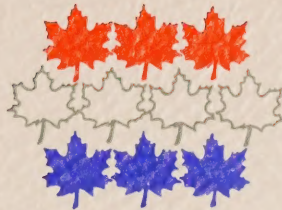




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the confederation of tomorrow conference

PROCEEDINGS

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# THE CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

Toronto, November 27-30, 1967

## PROCEEDINGS





## FOREWORD

Canada's Centennial Year was, above all, a time for celebration. Though none would question the delights as well as the enormous success of our national birthday party, this milestone in our history also provided an occasion for thoughtful self-examination.

Our experiment with Confederation has been successful, uniting a vast, rich land and a talented and diverse population. But stresses and strains are inherent in any federal system; in Canada, the requirements of change have become particularly acute in recent years, threatening that internal strength which we prize so highly.

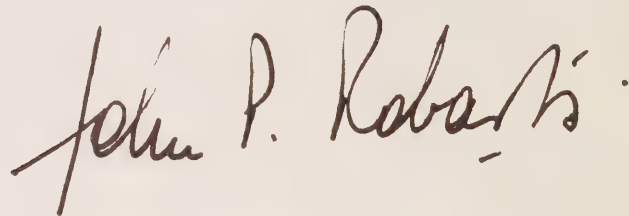
It seemed to me essential that the leaders of our governments should meet in Centennial Year to exchange views on the problems facing Confederation and to take some steps along the road to constructive solutions. The Confederation of Tomorrow Conference was conceived in the belief that positive changes in our society could be made without destroying the best of our past and that these changes could be undertaken in a friendly, reflective manner. In May 1967, the Legislature of Ontario debated and approved a resolution of the Government to convene such a Conference.

The Confederation of Tomorrow Conference was convened in Toronto in November and attended by representatives of all ten provinces. It was opened to the mass communications media to encourage the involvement of the Canadian people. I believe I can say on behalf of my colleagues across Canada that we were delighted with the results, which confirmed our belief in the maturity and good sense of all Canadians who are concerned about the future of their country. I should also like to add my appreciation to my fellow participants whose words are recorded in this volume. Their innate moderation and quiet determination were particularly appropriate to the gravity of the problems which they faced. If the Conference was a success, as I believe it was, the credit is due mainly to their endeavours.

This volume is a record of the deliberations of the Conference. It also contains the agenda (which served as a broad guide to discussions), the Conference resolution establishing the Continuing Committee on Confederation, and the full text of the Preliminary Statement of the Province of Quebec. This Statement was tabled at the beginning of the Conference and I am happy to meet the request of Prime Minister Johnson that it be included in this official record.

In reading these Proceedings, I think you will find that a genuine exchange of views was achieved at the Conference. This experience has reinforced my conviction that candour is an essential element in the success of any discussions on the future of our country and that this spirit of enquiry will result in a grand second century of Confederation.

It is my hope that, by publishing these Proceedings, the Government of Ontario will make a contribution to an informed discussion and improved public understanding of the issues.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "John P. Robarts". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and a stylized "R".

John P. Robarts,  
Prime Minister of Ontario.

June, 1968.



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LEADERS OF DELEGATIONS

<u>Province</u>	<u>Leader</u>
Alberta	Hon. E. C. Manning
British Columbia	Hon. R. W. Bonner (Attorney-General)
Manitoba	Hon. W. C. Weir
New Brunswick	Hon. L. J. Robichaud
Newfoundland	Hon. J. R. Smallwood
Nova Scotia	Hon. G. I. Smith
Ontario	Hon. J. P. Robarts
Prince Edward Island	Hon. A. B. Campbell
Quebec	Hon. D. Johnson
Saskatchewan	Hon. W. R. Thatcher

AGENDA

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27

10:00 a.m. Address of welcome by the Hon. J. P. Robarts,  
Prime Minister of Ontario.

10:15 a.m. FIRST SESSION

to

12:30 p.m. Short statement by the leader of each  
delegation.

Theme: "The Confederation of Tomorrow"

Topic: What should the Confederation of  
Tomorrow Conference accomplish?



MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27

3:00 p.m. SECOND SESSION

to

5:00 p.m. Theme: "The Goals of Canadians"

Topics: 1. What are the common concerns  
of all Canadians in 1967?

Some illustrations of these  
concerns might be: the quality of  
life; linguistic and cultural  
heritage; economic growth and  
minimum national standards; education;  
Canada's position in the world.

2. What are the major obstacles to  
the attainment of these goals?

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28

10:00 a.m.      THIRD SESSION

to

12:00 noon      Theme:    "The Role of the English and  
                                French Languages in Canada"

- Topics: 1.    What recognition is now accorded  
              the English and French languages?  
              (a) federally  
              (b) provincially
2.    What status should the English  
      and French languages have?  
      (a) federally  
      (b) provincially
3.    Should Section 133 of the  
      Constitution be enlarged to ensure  
      the official and equal status of the  
      English and French languages across  
      Canada? Or should such a guarantee  
      be left to the discretion of each  
      province?
4.    What is the relationship between  
      linguistic rights and cultural,  
      economic and fiscal goals?

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28

2:00 p.m.      FOURTH SESSION

to

4:00 p.m.      Theme: "The Ways in Which the Federal  
System Could be Improved"

Topics: 1. What viable choices does  
Canada have about its form of  
federalism?

Among the possible choices  
might be included: the present  
scheme; a greater flexibility in  
the present scheme a greater  
centralization; a greater decen-  
tralization; a change in the number  
of provinces; differing arrangements  
or status for one or more provinces.

2. What are the implications of  
each of these options? What are the  
advantages and disadvantages of each  
option?



WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29

10:00 a.m. FIFTH SESSION

to

12:00 noon Theme: "The Ways in Which the Federal  
System Could be Improved"

Topics: 1. In what areas might change be  
considered necessary and desirable?

For example, a Bill of Rights; the  
Senate; the Supreme Court; the Crown;  
other areas of the Constitution.

2. Assuming change is both necessary  
and desirable, how should it take  
place?

For example, by adjustment to practice  
only? by formal amendments to the  
Constitution? by a constitutional  
convention called to draft a new  
constitution?

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29

2:00 p.m.      SIXTH SESSION  
to

4:00 p.m.      Theme: "The Machinery and Structure of  
Federal-Provincial and Interprovincial  
Relationships in Canada"

Topics: 1. What should be the aim of the  
machinery and structure of these  
relationships?

2. Are the existing machinery and  
structure of these relationships  
adequate? If not, in what manner  
should reforms be made?

3. What new forms of machinery and  
structure might be envisaged?

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30

10:00 a.m. SEVENTH SESSION

to

12:00 noon Short statement by the leader of each  
delegation.

Theme: "The Second Century of Confederation"

Topic: Priorities of future conferences.





MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1967

MORNING SESSION

Hon. J. P. Robarts (Prime Minister of Ontario):

I would like first to say that we consider this to be a very historic occasion.

Not, perhaps, since the Charlottetown and the Quebec Conferences of 1864 and 1866 have the political leaders of Canada met in such numbers to discuss, in all its ramifications, the future of Canada. I welcome most warmly to this 1967 Confederation of Tomorrow Conference my fellow premiers and their representatives that are here, the delegations that have accompanied them, the many distinguished observers, and, via the press, radio, and television, the people of Canada.

Although there are many reasons for this gathering, one I think is fundamental to all the rest: we are concerned about the future of our country. As the one who called this Conference, and as your host, it is perhaps only proper that I should dwell for a moment on what led us to the idea of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, what I believe its purpose is, and what I hope it will accomplish.

For a number of years we have been aware of, and concerned about, the developing tensions within Canada and, more particularly, about the direction in which we were headed. It seemed to us that not only were we tending to ignore the implications of the cultural complexity of this country, but we were also making a series of decisions that subtly, but nonetheless forcibly, were changing the political and economic character of Canada. I refer to decisions which were largely of a fiscal nature which were being made not in the democratic glare of our legislatures but in the closed-door sessions of many federal-provincial conferences. These decisions were often in response to short-term, specific, and very important problems, rather than the result of a set of commonly-agreed principles and a knowledge and awareness of clearly-defined purposes.

I would not for one moment suggest that we, alone, were observant of these tendencies, or aware of their potential dangers. I know that most of you here today, as well as many other Canadians, have become similarly concerned. I can only say that these trends preoccupied our thoughts to the point where we felt that some initiative, some action, had to be taken.

In January of 1965, we began by appointing the Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation. The prime object of this Committee is to advise the Government of Ontario on the problems pertinent to Confederation. This group, comprised mainly of well-known scholars in Ontario, has been of inestimable value to the government. No doubt the best testament I can offer

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to its work is not by my words but in their deeds. As delegates, many of you are now familiar with the single-volume edition of the Committee's Background Papers and Reports which was recently circulated among you. Following the establishment of this Committee, we created within the Ontario civil service a Federal-Provincial Affairs Secretariat. The Secretariat has assisted the Advisory Committee, prepared much of the background work on the agenda, and contributed to the Theme Papers, as we called them, for the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference. These documents, too, were sent to you in recent weeks.

Having taken these steps within the government itself, we decided in October of 1966, during a federal-provincial conference, to put forward for the first time the idea of this Conference. On that occasion, the suggestion seemed to meet with general approval. Later, in November of 1966, I again made reference to the idea in a speech in Montreal. In January of 1967 the suggestion was made more specific in the Throne Speech delivered in the Legislature of the Province of Ontario. And last May I sought and secured approval of the proposal from the Ontario Legislature. Since that time, I have met with my fellow premiers on several occasions, and we have had brief discussions of the Conference at meetings in Ottawa in July, and in Fredericton in August.

In recent months our officials have had many conversations about the Conference. These then, in a brief form, are the events which led to the meeting here today.

What do we see as the nature of the Conference, and what do we hope it will accomplish?

First, I look upon our Centennial year of 1967 as a fitting point in our history in which to launch a thorough re-examination of Confederation. I am confident this Conference will assess the wider aims of our decision of one hundred years ago to live together. I am confident that it will give us some indication of the direction in which we can mutually agree to proceed. And above all, it will provide us with a fresh sense of nationhood, of will and determination, to continue together in our second century that which we have begun so magnificently in our first century.

Second, and I want to place special emphasis on this point, we see this Conference as but the first of a series of meetings. I have never believed, I have never hoped nor have I ever expected, that in these few days we would solve our enormously complex problems. Indeed, to my mind, the purpose of this Conference is to provide a forum for discussions, to voice with clarity our shared aims and differences, to give perspective to our often blurred and sometimes rancorous debates, and to do all this



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openly and before the people of this country. This Conference will not determine our fate but it could, and I hope will, give all Canadians a fresh understanding of the direction in which we should be going and of what we can become.

Third, I would hope very much that we shall all participate in these discussions as equal partners. We represent our individual provinces, and despite our disparity in size, we meet here as ten equal entities: equal in the opportunity to contribute our views to the future design of our country. In the next few days, I hope that each of us will join in the discussion on that basis.

Finally, I hope that at this Conference we shall confront squarely, and discuss with candour and vigour, the many issues that are before us today. I shall not comment in detail on the full, informal, and I hope now familiar, agenda. It is intended to serve merely as a guide. It may be that we will complete the whole agenda, it may be that we will only complete a portion of it. These are matters that will work themselves out as the Conference proceeds.

In our pre-Conference meetings we have had many useful and constructive preliminary talks about the various matters that we shall now be exploring around this table - if I may refer to this semi-circle as a table. I shall only say this, that we agreed not to allow ourselves to become embroiled too deeply in the subjects of fiscal arrangements and specific constitutional changes.

You realize, of course, that in discussion of the future of a country you cannot completely exclude anything. But we don't want to dwell on the specific matters of fiscal arrangements as we feel that these were settled a year ago, and certain negotiations, I assume, will commence in the not-too-distant future in order to settle our arrangements for another period of time that will commence on the first of July, 1969.

At subsequent meetings I would hope that we can enter into a more detailed discussion of specific issues but we are here now, in our view, to determine the measure of our consensus and, perhaps, the range of our differences.

I have said on occasion that this Conference could serve the supremely useful purpose of commencing a constructive dialogue and if we are successful in this objective we can be satisfied that these few days will have been exceedingly worthwhile. To everything there must be a beginning and thus it is today.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

Now, you may be wondering about the seating arrangements in this semi-circle; I can only assure you that it is based on neither historic nor geographic considerations. Rather it is designed to provide complete equality of opportunity to participate in the discussions, to hear and to be heard, to see and be seen and, from a practical point of view, to accommodate, in the most efficient manner, the members of these delegations, because the delegations vary in size.

In attempting to use to the fullest the space available, we have arranged to accommodate all official delegates behind the semi-circle of desks and chairs occupied by the leaders of each delegation. Immediately in front of us are spaces for those who are accredited to the Conference as official observers and beyond them is space for well over 100 members of the press, radio and television.

Our procedures will, I hope, be characterized by a minimum of formality. There will be no fixed order of speaking and, as your Chairman, it is my hope and it will be my endeavour to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to participate in the discussions to the fullest extent that he may deem necessary to express his point of view. I would suggest that it is not necessary for the leader of a delegation to stand when speaking - and I have started this procedure myself. If any delegation leader wants any other member of his delegation to address the Conference, then such member can speak from the lectern which stands to the right of the semi-circle over here.

May I now make some comments in my capacity as leader of the Ontario delegation. In an introductory fashion I should like to put forward some of the views held by the Government of Ontario on the concerns that have brought us to this Conference.

Let me begin by making a deceptively simple statement. To many of you it will appear patently obvious, and it is this: Canada is a federal state, not a unitary state, and simple though this statement may be, this fact cannot be over-emphasized; it bears constant repetition and its implications are profound.

First and foremost, the fact that Canada is a federal and not a unitary state means that the provinces were created, and they exist, in recognition of regional differences. I cannot emphasize this point too strongly. The existence of our internal differences is not a fact merely to be tolerated or even worse, discouraged. It is a fact which must be accepted as a fundamental condition of our will and our agreement to live together. Once and for all, let us cast aside the notion that the regions and the governments of the provinces of Canada are in some way a nuisance and an impediment to the operation of the country. To my mind, there could

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be no more tragic misreading of the nature of Canada. Indeed, our triumph and our very singular achievement in this country is that we exist in spite of our differences.

A second very important implication of our federal nature is that there is only one government in Canada which can represent the interests of all Canadians. We have recognized this from our birth as a national entity in 1867 by placing the federal government at the pinnacle of our political structure. We, in Ontario, have no intention of undermining the place of primacy of the federal government. Indeed, I would say that we are and remain deeply committed to the maintenance of that place of primacy. It is our conviction that in its fullest and largest expression, it is the binding force which ensures the continued existence of the country we are proud to call Canada.

Having drawn these two crucial implications from the federal fact of Canada, I now make a number of other observations, the underlying principles of which are subscribed to by the Government of the Province of Ontario.

The first of these, perhaps, is also somewhat trite in its expression, but nonetheless I believe it is very basic to an understanding of our current situation: that is, that we live in a time of unprecedented change and it is this fact which we all must be educated to accept. To a young and maturing country like Canada, coping with change is very crucial. Whether we like all the changes swirling around us or not, we cannot escape the fact of their presence. Will change move us, or will we meet it and influence it and have it move with us? Do we control change by moulding our practices and institutions, or does change control us? This is the issue and this, I submit, is at least one of the reasons why we are here today: to recognize change and to approach it rationally.

The singular importance which we attach to the fact of change, and to the necessity of our willingness to comprehend that fact, lies in our belief that too often we have ignored change and too readily and perhaps uncritically we have tended to simply continue as we have done in the past. We must avoid the oft-portrayed stance of the ostrich. We must be prepared to accept needed reform. As once was said: "The state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation." Does this not apply to our country, Canada, in 1967? We think that it does. While I possess no crystal ball and I am uncertain about the directions in which Canadians will choose to proceed and I have little precise idea of the shape of our country even ten years from now, I would say as sure as I am sitting here this morning, I know that the Canada of a decade or so ago is gone forever - that is what we mean by change.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

Now this first observation about change leads me directly to a second. Two great and pressing issues confront Canadians now. One is the place of French Canada in Canadian society - and by French Canada, I mean French-speaking Canadians across the country, not only those who reside in the Province of Quebec; and the other pressing issue is the nature of the relationship between the federal government and the provincial governments. May I suggest some ideas that we have been developing on these two major concerns which so persistently occupy and exercise our attention in Canada today.

We have placed special emphasis on the great achievement represented by the fact that Canada exists in spite of the diversity of its parts. The same diversity is a strength in itself, but no problem is as urgent or as compelling as that of appreciating the historic existence within our country of a relatively concentrated people whose working language is not that of the vast majority of their fellow citizens. Can Canada accommodate and be enriched by these two main streams of our heritage? Our answer is a resounding "yes" to that question. Still further, our answer is that it must, because the solution to this issue is a prerequisite to our survival as a country.

To say that we are a country of two societies is not to deny the multicultural nature of Canada, which is nowhere, I might say, more in evidence than in the Province of Ontario. It is to say that while one of our two societies has a common cultural and linguistic tradition, the English-speaking society in Canada is a product of many cultures and is enriched by each of them.

I cannot speak for any region or any part of Canada other than my own. I can only implore all Canadians to recognize the complex traditions of their land and to respond with deep sympathy and understanding to the problems that these traditions impose upon us.

We in Ontario are prepared to match our words with deeds. We are, indeed, in the process of meeting, wherever possible and practicable, the expressed and real needs of our Franco-Ontarians. We are seriously examining a variety of techniques which will accomplish this purpose as efficaciously as possible. I am sure that we can meet the requirements of symbolism and practicality; with the abiding love and faith that we have in Canada, we can do no less.

The second major concern I see is the relationship of the provinces to the federal government. Let me preface my remarks here by saying that our thoughts on this issue are very intimately related to the matters that I have raised in the preceding parts of this statement; first, the place



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of the provinces and the federal government in Canada; secondly, the theme of change; and thirdly, the accommodation of our twin heritage in one country.

These factors point to one over-riding condition of Canadian federalism: to work, it must be flexible. To achieve this flexibility all governments, federal as well as provincial, must agree on what constitutes Canada and then attempt to work out a system of intergovernmental relations which best fits the requirements and obligations of each. I think it is clear that among the provinces there will be a variety of opinions about their most desirable individual relationships with the federal government. The question is whether it is possible to accommodate these differences within our federal system and if so, to what degree should this be carried out.

The concept, if not the term, of "special status" is as old as Confederation. Whatever form fiscal or monetary subsidies have taken, it is true that they have been granted at one time or another to each of the regions of Canada. Their existence today testifies to the fact that they are an accepted feature of our federal system. The system is flexible because of the different needs of regions across Canada and because these differences exist there must perforce be special problems and special requirements of each region, each necessitating special treatment. Whenever a new province has joined Confederation, its terms of admission have contained special provisions different from earlier situations. My reason for paying special attention to this issue is that I want to place the concept of special status in a different perspective. I am aware that this concept has taken on a different meaning in recent years in the debate which has been taking place in the Province of Quebec. Part, though by no means all, of the reasons why we are here is to reflect calmly on this source of tension in our country. I hope by the end of this Conference that we shall all have a better appreciation and more knowledgeable perspective about this tension than has generally been the case to date. We are accustomed in Canada to special arrangements for individual provinces and regions. In principle, therefore, the term "special status" does not alarm us. To us the concept should mean a profound awareness that Canada is a country of disparate parts, each with its own combination of preferences and needs.

The risk in any concept of special status is that it could be carried to a point where it could destroy the federal government and the means of keeping the country together. Somehow in our search and our deep desire for national survival, we must come to grips with the issue of accommodating our differences while, at the same time, preserving our national distinctiveness.

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We have suggested in Ontario that perhaps a way out of our dilemma is to determine first what must be inviolable powers of our federal government. This is a logical starting point to a careful review of the division of powers in our system with a view to clarifying it and bringing it more into line with current and future requirements.

In such an exercise, we must bear constantly in mind the interdependence of all governments in our country; we are completely dependent upon one another and we must bear in mind the necessity for improving the machinery for intergovernment co-operation and co-ordination.

We must then determine, I would add, what we mean in each instance by "special status" and we must ask ourselves whether any one region or province or government of Canada should be permitted a special status which is beyond that granted to any other. We must not allow ourselves to drift into a state of affairs which could threaten our national existence. We must learn how to exert our influence on the form, the kind and the degree of special status. At this stage it would be, of course, premature to propose solutions to this vexing problem but we are prepared to make every effort to find such solutions. To have any real hope of success the current and future discussions on change in our federal system must be based on the conviction of all concerned that our federation can and should survive.

Gentlemen, I have been able to touch on only a few points in this statement, but I think that they are fundamental points. May I just add in conclusion that we convened this Conference not in spite of, but because of, our deep confidence in Confederation and the viability of Canada and particularly in the ingenuity and good sense of our people. We have much to be proud of in our past and it is this conviction, of course, which sustains our confidence in our future. We do not deny past mistakes, we do not ignore current misunderstandings, but this awareness only heightens our concern that we move into the second century fully conscious of our joint endeavour. We think our joint endeavour is to make Canada the national home and the single voice of every Canadian citizen; to have this home reflect our rich and magnificent diversity; and to have a federal system that works, that is adaptable to changing conditions and that meets the desires of all Canadians.

We can accomplish this endeavour, and I suggest that we spare no effort to do so.

We are open for discussion.

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Hon. D. Johnson (Prime Minister of Quebec):

I welcome this opportunity to join the other provincial prime ministers and premiers at this Conference on the Canada of tomorrow. For me it is both a great honour and a very great responsibility.

I am confident that I speak for my colleagues and my fellow-citizens from Quebec in expressing our deep appreciation to Mr. Robarts, Prime Minister of Ontario, for having planned and organized this Conference, and to the other provincial government leaders for having accepted his invitation.

At this meeting, probably the first of many, we have gathered merely to weigh our problems and do some exploratory work. However, judging by the keen interest it has aroused throughout the country, as evidenced by the number of leading journalists it has attracted to Toronto, I believe this Conference, preliminary though it may be, is already looked upon as a major step in the evolution of modern Canada.

When Canadian Confederation was created in 1867, it was by common consent of the provinces. There were only four at the outset. They and the others which came in later with substantially the same rights and obligations thus meet in Toronto today, as originators and constituents of Canadian federalism, to examine their creation and decide where it could stand perfecting and adapting to the requirements of our time.

We know how quickly and thoroughly conditions have changed in recent years, not only here but all over the world. We can use this knowledge to advantage, taking inspiration from what has been done elsewhere, yet bearing in mind that no two countries are identical and that we alone can build the Canada in which we wish to live.

If we are to proceed with maximum clarity and effectiveness, I believe it is very important that we begin by making a sharp distinction between two categories of problems.

The first includes all problems which have no direct relationship with language or culture; in other words, those where Quebec's interests coincide with those of the other provinces. Federalism is still a valid formula for solving this kind of problem. Even if her population were culturally homogeneous, Canada is such a vast and diversified land from the geographical standpoint as to defy sound administration by a unitary government.

This means there are a number of fields over which all provinces will want to retain control, just as there are a number which Quebec, as well as the other provinces, may find advantageous to put under joint control.



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(Hon. Mr. Johnson)

It does not follow that the division of powers laid down in 1867 for a largely rural country with a population of just over three million is still the one which best suits Canada. Our present Constitution contains many anachronistic forms and obsolete provisions. Even more serious, because of its obscure passages and not infrequent silences on the real problems of our day, it has ceased to be a dynamic instrument for co-ordination and progress.

The Fathers of Confederation could not have foreseen the awesome technological changes which were to transform the structures of society and the role of governments. In drafting our fifth constitution since 1760, they were governed by the realities of their time. Now it is our turn to act on the basis of today's conditions, just as some fifty other countries have done in adopting new constitutions since the last world war ended.

By this, I do not mean we should level the structures we have so painstakingly erected during the last hundred years and rebuild from the ground up. The fact remains that the changes still required, even as they affect problems which have no direct bearing on our distinctive cultural traits, are sufficiently numerous and sweeping to call for a new constitution.

I refer in particular to the need for more orderly and institutionalized relations between our different governments, especially in economic and fiscal matters. We must have well-established machinery for consultation and co-ordination so as to shield the provinces from the sudden impact of federal policy - related to, say, a Carter Report or a tariff agreement - which would upset their economic stability or industrial organization, thereby affecting their people's welfare.

In her approach to this first set of problems which imply the need to reconcile the imperatives of autonomy with those of interdependence, Quebec feels at one with the other provinces; and the course she proposes is that of co-operative planning and co-ordinated action.

But Canada is not merely a federation of ten provinces. It is also the home of two linguistic and cultural communities, that is, of two nations in the sociological sense.

I know it has been more customary in the past to speak of two races. If we now prefer "nation", it is because this word has much broader significance; it is not confined to the two founding peoples, but extends to all our fellow-countrymen of various origins who participate in either of our two national cultures.



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(Hon. Mr. Johnson)

Thus, ethnic origin is much less fundamental to this concept than cultural attachment. Whatever the term used, we cannot overlook this basic fact: there are in Canada not only two languages but two distinct ways and philosophies of life; two societies, one of which has had its roots solidly implanted in North American soil for three and a half centuries.

This gives rise to a second set of problems of a socio-cultural nature; they derive from the necessity to achieve harmonious relations between the two communities while allowing each to develop freely as befits its own genius. This is the area where the need for a new constitution is most pressing.

For while our present Constitution still contains elements which are valid for organizing Canada as a partnership of ten, we are forced to conclude that much of this other two-partner Canada remains to be invented. This is probably why our country has so far been a Canada of two solitudes.

Yet it seems to me that, rather than regard our cultural duality as a divisive or isolating factor, or as a necessary evil to be contained as much as possible, we should welcome it as a historical stroke of unusual good fortune which gives Canada a second dimension and direct, close links, not only with the English-speaking world but with the more than twenty nations which share the French language and culture.

Of Canada's two cultures, the French is in obviously greater peril than the English in the North American context.

It is basic in a country like ours that the Constitution recognize the collective rights of both cultural communities. The British North America Act included a number of guarantees for the English-speaking minority in Quebec, but scarcely any for French minorities in the other provinces. Thus, rather than provide equality, the Constitution has tended to force French-speaking people and their way of life back inside Quebec's boundaries.

To a French Canadian, leaving Quebec has meant and still means giving up his cultural identity sooner or later, either for himself or for his descendants. As proof, I quote the 1961 census: only 850,000 out of 1,300,000 Canadians of French origin living outside Quebec still spoke French.

That explains why our government was given a mandate to marshal every argument at its command in support of a new constitution which would establish the juridical and practical equality of our two national communities. We do not want to impose our language indiscriminately on all Canadians; but wherever their numbers warrant it, we do want French Canadians to be able to serve their country and be served by it in their own language, as full citizens.

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Responsibility for establishing this equality does not rest with the Quebec Government alone. It is shared with us by the other provinces and the federal government.

Ontario and other provinces have recently announced concrete steps which could have great significance for French-language instruction in the schools. This is an excellent start with which I am delighted. Even so, you will forgive me for pointing out that Quebec is by far the leading province in her respect for the minority culture.

Quebec has always made it a point of honour to go well beyond the 1867 constitutional provisions for the language, schools, cultural and social institutions of her English-speaking population. She does not regret having done so; in fact, this is one of her most cherished traditions.

I will say, however, that this has made the difficulties experienced by French groups in the other provinces all the harder for her to bear. Anything which tends to restrict the legitimate freedoms of such groups strikes a sensitive chord in Quebec, besides playing straight into the hands of those who no longer think it possible to establish equality in relations between our two national communities.

Since it is not officially party to this Conference, the federal government will hear what we expect from it on some later occasion. Meanwhile, there is one point I suggest we might all start thinking about right away.

I take for granted that Canada's next constitution will proclaim the association of our two cultural communities and clearly set forth the collective rights of both. In that case, what is to prevent us from setting up a permanent body staffed by equal numbers of Canadians from each cultural community, to ensure respect for these collective rights?

At present, there is no permanent body constituted on a binational basis, nor is there any agency to bring about the equal partnership which we feel is the only organization possible for the Canada of tomorrow.

There have been worthwhile suggestions for reforming the Senate and setting up a genuine constitutional tribunal but they have never advanced beyond the talking stage. Action is now more necessary than ever.

Finally, it is self-evident that Quebec, faced with these socio-cultural problems, is not a province like the others. As the heartland and mainstay of French Canada, she is in a very special situation, so much so that it is probably fair to say her special vocation would grow more exacting if the government in Ottawa were to become less binational in its organization and conduct.

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We would be the first to admit that Quebec is not French Canada. She has no legal responsibility for French groups settled outside her boundaries, yet hers is the only government which can speak on behalf of a French majority.

For it is only in Quebec that French Canadians have the political strength which comes from numerical superiority. There alone can they provide themselves with institutions, a life pattern and an environment tailored exactly to their needs and personality. Accordingly, there is a role in guaranteeing equality for the French-Canadian nation which only Quebec can play. This is why she needs increased powers.

In 1867, control over education, civil law, welfare institutions and other areas stipulated in section 92 of the present Constitution may well have given her sufficient power; today, she needs much more, as I stated a year ago September at the fourth meeting of the Tax Structure Committee:

Specifically, what does Quebec want? As the mainstay of a nation, it wants free rein to make its own decisions affecting the growth of its citizens as human beings (i.e., education, social security and health in all respects), their economic development (i.e., the forging of any economic and financial tool deemed necessary), their cultural fulfilment (which takes in not only arts and literature, but the French language as well) and the presence abroad of the Quebec community (i.e., relations with certain countries and international organizations).

At this stage in our discussions, I wanted to tell you in broad outline, and as clearly as possible, how Quebec sees the Canada of tomorrow. If I have talked at some length, it is no doubt because we can hardly expect to find simple solutions to a complex problem. At least, the solutions which appear simplest on the surface are not always those which square best with the facts.

The task we are undertaking together will be difficult, but challenging enough to stir the imagination. I thank you for the interest which you show in Quebec today. For our part, we have come with open minds and receptive hearts, prepared to do our best to understand our partners' viewpoints.

Someone once said that a constitution is a product of the intellect; I believe it is also an act of faith. Personally, I am still optimistic. I am confident that this Conference will be the starting point for a new Canada in which linguistic and cultural duality will no longer be a source of misunderstanding and conflict, but a factor for co-operation, mutual enrichment and assertion of our Canadian identity.

And to facilitate the understanding of the Quebec position, to permit a better exchange of opinion we have thought that it would be a good idea to present a preliminary statement which will be distributed to all participants of this Conference as soon as the present first session is completed.

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May I, in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, tell you from the bottom of my heart that as a Quebecer I do appreciate your initiative, and that it might turn out to be the initiative that will permit the Canada of tomorrow.

If you will allow me, I would note in closing that it is very significant that we are gathered on the 54th floor. It was time we all took a general view of Canada, and that we looked to the future. Thank you.

Hon. G. I. Smith (Premier of Nova Scotia):

Mr. Chairman, perhaps I might be permitted to say a few words on behalf of Nova Scotia.

I would like to begin by congratulating you, sir, and your government, on your determination to hold this Conference, on the work which has been done in preparation for it, to enable us all to address ourselves more readily to the problems we are going to discuss; and of course, also to congratulate you on the excellent arrangements for the work of the Conference, which we see around us.

During this year, we have been celebrating a hundred years of Confederation, during which time we have lived together in one country. During this year, we have emphasized our accomplishments, but perhaps we have put aside for the moment consideration of our difficulties and our shortcomings. And this is what we should have done, as we were celebrating our birthday. But now we should look at ourselves critically and look to the future. And I think we have to recognize that there are stresses and strains in our nation that can tear us apart.

Perhaps the fundamental question we have to ask ourselves, at this Conference and in the future, is whether we have the vision and the faith to put aside our differences, and to join together in a determination to make of this Canada a country which can embrace all of its people, and in which each citizen can feel at home, whatever his origin may be.

And I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the men who created Canada had that vision and had that faith, and they recognized diversity. They accepted the need of compromise arising from that diversity and out of diversity, with compromise, there emerged a new nation.

Well, the years have gone by and we now have more provinces around this table.

But I believe the general nature of the problems that faced our predecessors 100 years ago is largely the same as the nature of those that face us today. Time and change and the changing philosophy of the government have



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magnified some of them and have created new ones, but it seems to me they still are of the same nature and we should recognize this and not be daunted by these problems as our predecessors were not daunted so many years ago.

We believe, in Nova Scotia, that the governments of Canada, the provinces of Canada and the federal government, should examine our Constitution and our institutions in the light of the present and future needs of all the people of our country.

We suggest in doing this that it is our duty, if we want to make any progress, to face each problem squarely and to seek solutions in the light of the needs of today and tomorrow without being encumbered by the mistakes we have made in the past or the difficulties which have arisen from them.

If our Constitution and our institutions do not serve the legitimate needs and aspirations of the whole or any part of Canada, we should face that fact and seek solutions that will meet those needs and aspirations and will preserve and strengthen the bonds of friendship which alone, in the final analysis, can ensure the harmonious continuance of Confederation. The intentional or unintentional departures from the spirit of Confederation have created discontent. Let us face those departures frankly and fully.

If, perhaps, sometimes we have stressed the letter of the law and have ignored the spirit of Confederation, let us recognize that and face it too as one of the problems we have to overcome.

We in Nova Scotia believe that a return to the spirit of Confederation can overcome the difficulties that beset us today. You ask, "What was that spirit?" Well, it is difficult to define but it seems to us that it was primarily the vision of a great country filled with people of great diversity in many ways, spreading across the continent and bound together so as to advance the common interests of all. It was, as I have said, a spirit that recognized difficulties but which refused to be daunted or defeated by them, and it was a spirit which sent men of goodwill from province to province to talk, to persuade and to reconcile.

One hundred years ago our predecessors, in the light of circumstances as they existed then, gave certain responsibilities to the provinces; and perhaps the division of these responsibilities is no longer equal to the problems of today. The provinces were given certain taxing powers, then considered sufficient to enable them to discharge their responsibilities, but the increasing cost of these responsibilities has outstripped the taxation capacities of the provinces. In short, the provinces have responsibilities which are beyond their fiscal capacities, and this problem is aggravated further by the disparities in fiscal capacity as among the provinces.

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But surely we can devise solutions to these problems if we apply to them, in this year and in the years ahead, a spirit of compromise based on our determination to ensure the continuance of a Canada in which more than one culture can grow and flourish and in which each province would be able to discharge its constitutional responsibilities.

We in Nova Scotia emphasize that we believe in the federal system of government in which the central government has a responsibility for the social and economic well-being of all the people of Canada, and the strength and resources to discharge that responsibility. But the wealth of Canada is unevenly distributed among the provinces and if we are to provide a basic national standard of essential services to all the people of Canada, whether they be economic, social or cultural, then we must have a central government with the will and the capacity to assist those provinces which because of reasons beyond their control are not able to provide such services or such a standard of services.

Surely we can agree that a Canadian wherever he resides in Canada is entitled to a certain standard of service, and surely the Constitution of our federal state must recognize that principle.

Canada by reason of its size alone presents problems in attempting to frame a constitution devised so as to serve all of its people. The problem of size is compounded by the great diversity in ethnic groups, in natural resources and the uneven distribution of population.

National policies, we believe, if they are to serve all the people of Canada, must be such as to give recognition in a positive, a practical and a constructive manner, to these problems and the reasons these problems exist. We suggest, too, that a rigid national policy applied with equal force across the whole of the country without recognition of these diverse needs will not often serve the needs of all Canadians.

We need flexibility in the application and, indeed, in the formulation of national policy; and in deciding on national objectives we must be aware constantly of the fact that we have diversity - diversity among people and their wants and their aspirations.

Do we come to this Conference prepared to give the most careful and serious consideration to any proposal which holds promise of providing a method by which we can ensure to the people of Canada, today and to succeeding generations, a society in which each citizen will have a full opportunity to make his contribution and an equal right to share in the common good?

Thank you.

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Hon. L. J. Robichaud (Premier of New Brunswick):

Mr. Chairman - M. le Président - I wish to join with my other colleagues in complimenting you on the convening of this Conference and on the initiative that you have shown.

This Conference is of very real value precisely because it is not convened to undertake a technical task of constitutional review and re-drafting.

Nor are we met in yet another of the multitudinous conferences where a fiscal agreement is negotiated, or where the compromises are arranged preparatory to a new shared-cost program. Such meetings have undoubted and growing importance in the processes of our federalism, but there are times when I feel that we hold so many meetings and achieve so little communication.

We do well to remember that separatist or isolationist tendencies show themselves in various parts of Canada.

They speak more than one language; and have more than one form of expression. Perhaps because Canada is so vast it is not too surprising that some may come miles to a meeting and then "keep their distance"!

This Conference can have significance, therefore, because our nationhood is the theme that brings us together.

Communication is our purpose; a sharing of concerns and approaches.

And our cause - surely - is not Canada's survival, but Canada's maturity - the achievement through partnership of Canada's terrific cultural and social potential.

It has been well said that "events have a way of making other events inevitable". This Conference can help make inevitable a revitalized Canadian federalism - a federalism which will give full play to the aspirations of both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians; and which will be the source of Canadian distinctiveness in our increasingly inter-dependent North Atlantic economy and world society. The making of Canada was a great act of political imagination and mutual acceptance. Acceptance and imagination are again required to adjust successfully the forms and process of our federalism to meet the circumstances and opportunities of our time. We must sense - and respond to - the logic of our history and experience.

That is what we have been trying to accomplish in New Brunswick. We have our bigots. We have those who would like to "opt out" of any



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working and living relationships with those of another cultural tradition. But such people are few - very few in relation to the total community.

Mr. Chairman, with some diffidence I venture to record here the fact that on three successive occasions I, whose cultural roots are French, have been chosen to lead the government in a province where a sizeable majority of the citizens are English-speaking, and one such occasion occurred just recently. I deeply believe that says a great deal about the basic attitudes and openness of our people.

The history of both cultural groups in New Brunswick stretches back many years before 1867. The history of each has its dark chapters of conflict and suspicion. But destiny decreed that we must share a common region. And all the logic of our history and experience is building up a partnership which will give full play to the cultural traditions and human capabilities of all our people. In other sessions of this Conference you will be told how we are developing the programs of education; creating translation and language-training services, using a cultural agreement; and modifying our forms of law and government to achieve cultural fraternity in our province.

At the same time, all the logic of our history and experience showed us that we must also adjust the forms of government and the structures of society so as to overcome economic and social disparities in the regions and communities of our province. Unchecked and uncorrected, those disparities diminish human freedom and opportunity; they frustrate social progress and development. It is my firm belief that our New Brunswick experience is most relevant to Canada at this time.

We must develop new bases and structures for the partnership between the French-speaking and English-speaking communities in Canada. The political union at the time of Confederation naturally implied the partnership of two cultural communities. Cartier became the champion of Confederation (and he endeavoured to appease the fears of his compatriots) by emphasizing the fact that this new partnership would protect the precious traditions of the French culture and language, while permitting the most complete participation in that political reality that was Canada.

I deeply believe that all of Canada will be immeasurably richer if we make it possible for our basic English-French cultural partnership to be made more operative, more dynamic, than ever before.

We do not feel that one province, or a small group of provinces, should have special representation and responsibilities to direct national agencies. We believe that the national Parliament, in which we are all



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represented, must discharge the duty of achieving national expression for Canada's basic cultural partnership, including the development and terms of reference of communications agencies. In the same way it is the duty of the government in New Brunswick to give provincial expression to that English-French partnership that is to important, so fundamental a fact in our life.

I believe that we must not take each other for granted. I believe that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians must be made to feel at home from coast to coast. I agree with the views of Marcel Faribault when he says that French Canadians seek an "acknowledgement of their own individuality", they seek "possibilities and encouragement on a par with other Canadians". Surely Canada is far richer if we develop across the nation the social and cultural facilities - and the political forms - that will secure the language and culture of French Canada as well as of English Canada.

Our own provincial experience has taught us the truth of that. Thus the New Brunswick Government has welcomed Prime Minister Pearson's invitation to discuss these matters with reference to a Bill of Rights and other possible constitutional re-statements that might result in a deepening and an extension of French-English partnership. Canada's basic dual cultural and linguistic heritage can and must be made a Canada-wide force of enrichment; and not a force of division and mutual impoverishment.

Having said that I would also express the view that Canada must do more to overcome regional economic and social disparities in the Confederation of tomorrow. It is my firm conviction that severe and persisting disparities in the levels of services and in the range of opportunities do much to fragment Canada, possibly much more in the end than differences of language and culture.

Cultural variety can enlarge the freedom and the humanity of every person. Economic and social deprivation can only diminish life. Great gaps between the regions of Canada with respect to services and opportunities can only serve to exclude many thousands of people from meaningful participation in the Canadian community.

In New Brunswick we have sought to face this issue in terms of our provincial society. Canada must face this issue nationally, more adequately than in the past. We must improve the form of our federalism to permit the continuance of strong national government that will at the same time be more flexible and selective in its impact on the several regions of Canada. Provincial governments in turn must be able to discharge their constitutional responsibilities. They must be able to set priorities relevant to their

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growth situation and have resources to carry them out. The responsibilities of government have changed enormously since the time of Confederation. The world economy and Canada's role in it has changed almost beyond recognition. Surely we must not hesitate to adjust the structures and responsibilities of government in Canada so that our federalism will reflect the realities of our times. Surely we can build better structures of interaction between federal and provincial governments for the sake of a more flexible and responsible federalism.

In the next few days and in the federally-sponsored conference early in 1968 we are seeking to get at the fundamental issues of our nationhood. We are trying to achieve communication with each other, a real sharing of concerns and views for the sake of a more vigorous Canada.

We in New Brunswick believe that such ventures at this time will contribute much to the maturing and fulfilment of Canada in the years ahead. Thank you.

Hon. A. B. Campbell (Premier of Prince Edward Island):

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: may I join the other provincial delegations, Mr. Chairman, in congratulating you upon the initiative which you and your government and the people of Ontario have taken in calling this Conference. At this stage of the proceedings I am prepared to concede that the arrangements equal, if not surpass, those which the people of Prince Edward Island were privileged to provide for the Fathers of Confederation one hundred and three years ago.

Prince Edward Island was a reluctant entrant into the Canadian union in 1873, but our attitude has long since changed. We are convinced, Mr. Chairman, that the preservation of Confederation, indeed of Canada, is the essential challenge of today.

Are we a nation in name only? Often we do not think or act as a nation. Should we re-examine our constitutional basis? If, as a first step towards unity, we need a new constitution, then we should seriously examine that possibility. But even more than a consideration of the mechanics of unity we should consider the basic statement of faith between our founding races. Such a commitment might well be included in a meaningful Bill of Rights.

Confederation in the past was necessarily an accommodation to a number of relatively simple forces. Today we are faced with the need for

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accommodating more complex and perplexing problems of regional economic imbalance and the desire for cultural fulfilment. Both of these concepts must be attained.

Canadian requirements as far ahead as one can see will necessitate a strong central government. Strength in this context means financial strength to provide a sufficiently large economic field within which a central government may exercise political and economic influence towards national ends.

This implies certainly that the gradual erosion of federal financial authority must be brought to an end. But while we regard a strong central government as necessary this does not necessarily mean that we support a strong centralized government. The centralization of government machinery in the determination of priorities and plans for eventual federal action may be an effective means of creating a national position in the international community, but this method has proven quite ineffective as a means of correcting the regional imbalances which have developed over the years. There is often a gulf between federal and provincial governments on the question of what is considered to be of prime importance in the area of provincial development. Here we must distinguish between prior consultation and joint planning. Too often consultation consists of the federal government informing the provinces of its plans after the federal authorities have arrived at firm positions. Joint planning with both levels of government involved in the decision-making process is necessary. Joint planning, I feel, is a method of bringing about an internal balance within Confederation.

We recognize the legitimate rights and aspirations of French Canadians for the development of their economic, social and cultural life. Our Confederation was built on the equal partnership of the two founding peoples. This partnership with equal rights for both groups must now be re-affirmed and adjusted for the second century of Confederation. This principle of full cultural development should be extended to all Canada and not confined to the Province of Quebec. French-speaking Canadians must have the right and the opportunity for the full expression and development of their cultural aspirations and at the same time English-speaking Canadians will, I hope, respond favourably to this legitimate goal; to shape a country in which French Canada is an equal partner in the economic, social and cultural life of the nation; to shape a country where there will be a real sharing in all aspects of national life between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians.

With these goals before us, we can develop a nation with unique characteristics and one potentially able to make some form of contribution to mankind generally. And is this not the only kind of special status which



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is valid; a special status for Canadians on the broader international scene? And it should be a special status which is derived not from some unique accommodation to ourselves, but from the special qualities of our contribution to the advancement of mankind.

Otherwise, Mr. Chairman, is there a purpose for Canada's existence? I think not, and accordingly all discussions of the goals of Confederation should be directed to this purpose.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Hon. E. C. Evans (Provincial Treasurer of Manitoba):

If I may be permitted a personal word first, my spirits have risen and my hopes have soared as I have listened to the statesmanlike statements of the provinces that have already spoken.

I wish to acknowledge the very real value which the Government of Manitoba attaches to the opportunity presented by this Conference, and repeat our congratulations for the splendid arrangements and to thank you for them.

The new Premier of Manitoba will, I hope, join us tomorrow. Perhaps you know that the Hon. Walter Weir was elected Premier of Manitoba by the party convention, and perhaps at this very moment is being sworn into office. He has asked me to present his respects and his greetings to the gathering, and to say that he hopes to join us very shortly.

In the meantime, we will attend with great interest the consideration of the wide range of subjects which has been suggested in the agenda before us.

I wish to do no more than to establish the premises upon which the Government of Manitoba has approached these meetings.

The first premise is that we have come a very long way in a relatively short time as the life of a great nation goes. Canada today, is a viable, progressive, successful and eminently fortunate nation, possessed of great established capacity and even greater potential.

Whatever the combination of forces and forms of organization responsible for our achievements to the present, great credit is due to them.



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The second premise is that in a progressive nation there should never be fear of public discussion of the challenges, the problems and the difficulties which must be met in the continuing progress of our country.

Therefore, we presume that we are here to discuss the potential for success in our second century of progress.

We expect to understand and apply the lessons of the first hundred years. The institutions and concepts which have served us well deserve continuing attention so that they may be developed to meet the changing challenges which come before us, and which have come before us.

The third premise we hold true is that the future of the Canadian Confederation must be determined with all eleven partners as full participants. We must assume that our deliberations here can lead to positive results in the way of information, enlightenment and indeed illumination of ideas and of attitudes and of viewpoints. We would not expect that final conclusions would be possible, certainly not in the circumstances of the absence of the federal partner.

However, continuing effective development of the widely diversified regional communities in our nation is essential. Therefore, it is wholly fitting that the provincial partners, who must carry forward the direct tasks of regional responsibility, should meet together to exchange and develop ideas and approaches.

In this regard, we believe very strongly that the Canadian federal system can only function effectively when there is a full participation by the provincial level of government in matters of regional interest and responsibility.

One has only to look at the listing of the ministerial and official intergovernmental committees which was distributed, sir, with the background papers for this Conference, to appreciate the growing importance of relationships between the governments of Canada. Yet, one must question the effectiveness of these devices in moving us toward truly co-operative decisions. We need a more suitable mechanism for effective intergovernmental decision-making.

Many things now need to be decided, with full and effective partnership of both provincial and federal governments. As we strengthen the regional progress in our own country, we will better equip ourselves to meet the tasks and obligations in the wider community of nations.

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This was the successful theme of the Exposition in Montreal - Man and His World. We have the rich inheritance of many cultures. We can each claim for ourselves the vitality and values of the full legacy that each culture has given to Canada. We must insist that our future be based on a recommitment to the broadest human ideals.

Surely we will not permit Canada to falter. We will not fail to strengthen our system of government when the opportunity has come to us so clearly.

Canada's progress is, of course, wholly dependent upon her people, all of them. We enjoy the privilege and the advantage of difference. We all have the obligation to ensure that each and every Canadian, as the distinguished Premier of New Brunswick has said, that every Canadian feels at home everywhere in his own land.

This obligation grants to us the privilege of personal involvement in the progress of our country.

Thus, the basic premise for Manitoba is that we are joined in a welcome obligation, a rare and immense opportunity. If we are correct in our premises, then we will expect to derive a major benefit from these meetings. We would hope to make a positive contribution in specific areas, as the discussion develops.

Again on behalf of the Government of Manitoba, I express my appreciation to the organizers of the Conference, and particularly to the outstanding Canadian who conceived of it. His contribution to a better understanding of and within this nation is already very substantial.

In this Centennial period, with its magnificent evidence of vitality and productive capacity in Canada, the atmosphere is clearly one of stimulus for imagination, creative development, and this Conference is a direct recognition of opportunity, as well as a confrontation with challenge.

We know now, in the closing months of 1967, that we can believe more truly in ourselves. Therefore we need to develop new forms, to improve upon those we now have, and this would come as a welcome task.

Thank you.

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Hon. J. R. Smallwood (Premier of Newfoundland):

I would like to thank you very warmly for the invitation to come to this Conference and to thank you also for the splendid arrangements that have been made - an object lesson - and to thank you also for bringing us together in this particular magnificent building which gives us an opportunity to see what other very wonderful buildings there are all around us here. Truly wealth in all around we see. If we didn't know it before, we do now. This is truly a rich city, in a rich province, in a very rich country. And it is reassuring to realize that this is a very great, very wealthy country which we represent at least.

Now, we find it a little startling and very unusual, of course, very novel, a little awe-inspiring, after being Canadians for only eighteen years, to find ourselves here today conferring, being part of a Conference that is talking of writing new constitutions for this country that we only joined eighteen years ago. We didn't think, seriously, that eighteen years ago when we were trying to make up our minds to join Canada, to become Canadians, that within eighteen years we would be meeting in a Conference where it is suggested seriously that Canada's Constitution ought to be tossed out and a new one not perhaps, as Mr. Johnson said, from the ground up, but a new one written.

Newfoundland, probably like the other three Atlantic provinces - I don't speak for them - but probably, I say, like the other three provinces, Newfoundland is not especially interested in these proposals for broad and general changes and innovations and amendments to the Constitution of Canada. And, speaking very personally, I don't see any reason for anything more at the most than changes here and there.

I have gone through this immensely interesting statement of Mr. Johnson's, trying to see where the things suggested in it require the writing of a new constitution and I don't see it. This does not mean to say that it doesn't exist; it only means that I don't see where there is any need to accomplish all of the purposes in this, that are so beautifully stated and those of them with which most Canadians can agree, that would require the writing of a new constitution. But maybe it would.

This is not our particular interest in Canada today, and I suspect that it is not the particular interest of these other three provinces; and I would suspect that there might be even other provinces in Canada besides the four Atlantic provinces who are not greatly preoccupied, in their interests and in their thinking, in the matter of writing a new constitution for Canada. Frankly, we are not; at least I am not, Newfoundland is not. But, there are matters that do interest us deeply when we think of Canada's future and Canada's present, which is also important.



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Our particular interest is in a very unromantic fact: it's jobs and employment, standard of living for our people, a chance to earn a dollar rather than being handed one; a chance for families to live decently in our province, in our part of the country.

On page 7 of Mr. Johnson's magnificent statement, in subsection 2, it says this:

Canada now comprises ten provinces, no one like any other in people, size, climate, problems or resources. Logically (and I am still quoting here) it would not seem desirable to formulate policies conceived as though all the country's ten provinces had been cast in the same mould.

We repeat: "logically, it would not seem desirable to formulate policies conceived as though all the country's provinces had been cast in the same mould. Yet, except for a few provisions of secondary importance, accidental or transitory," except for these, "our Constitution in principle keeps all provinces on the same footing. It provides no opportunity for special federal-provincial arrangements adapted to conditions in a given province. In practice, these special arrangements can be effected" - in practice. "But, whatever the intention may be, they cannot help appearing to be exceptional or temporary." Oh yes, it says, oh yes, special arrangements can be made as between Ottawa and any given province, or even any given part of a given province, but they do appear to be exceptional or temporary. "In short," (this is the concluding sentence of this section) "in short, our Constitution makes some allowance for special situations existing when a given province entered Confederation."

And they might have added "and after", and I think it was added. I think you, Mr. Robarts, pointed out that when the provinces came in one by one, the original four and then the others, one by one, they were given, each of them, special terms and special inducements and special encouragement, and that these have been changed from time to time since then. You made that remark. And your remarks, I think, ought to go together with Mr. Johnson's here. "In short, our Constitution makes some allowance for special situations existing when a given province entered Confederation", and since. "But, divorced from day-to-day reality, it does not allow for continuance and even intensification of differences between provinces, once they became members of Confederation."

Now I have no doubt that Mr. Johnson and his friends were thinking about other matters when they wrote that section. They were thinking of matters that concerned them deeply. But the matters that concern some provinces, certainly Newfoundland, are not quite those matters.



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But this statement is a magnificent statement of this problem, this Canadian problem, if you consider the matter or the problem in the light of jobs and opportunity and a decent standard of living in, for instance, Newfoundland, and I am sure it would be equally true of certain other provinces.

I have noticed considerable change in this matter in the last eighteen years since we were a province.

I was aware that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had said that there was no finality in the terms of Confederation. And I remember that when we were considering whether or not we should become a province I discovered that to my intense delight, and quoted it widely in Newfoundland and then checked on the matter and found that in the case of Nova Scotia, for example, she had been given certain original terms but that these had been upgraded and upgraded and upgraded periodically ever since the beginning up to that time. And the same in New Brunswick and, indeed the same in all provinces; there had been an upgrading because there was no finality.

But since we became a province - not because we became one, but beginning about that time - after all, since the war was over, there was a new air of beginning in the world and in Canada around that time, just as we became a province - a great change began to take place and, in truth, there has been some departure from what I have called the "Procrustes' bed" policy of Ottawa.

Now, Procrustes was a character in Greek mythology who had a castle on the side of the road and he welcomed travellers. He put them up overnight and he fed them, wine them and dined them and was most hospitable to them. It was clear that he loved all the travellers that came along, but it came time at last each night to retire, to go to bed. He had a bed waiting for them - Procrustes' bed. You had to fit - you just had to fit that bed. If you were shorter than the bed, he stretched you; if you were longer, he lopped your feet off. You just had to fit Procrustes' bed and Ottawa, it seems to me, has always been deeply imbued with the belief, with the feeling, that they must not do anything for any one province unless they would do that same thing on the same terms and in the same way for all of the other provinces. This is the Procrustes' bed policy - do for one, only what you will do for all.

Or Mr. Johnson will perhaps appreciate it if I put it in another way: a great French writer, Anatole France, put it this way once, that the law - and he was referring to the law of France - in its majestic equality, forbids the millionaire and the pauper alike - there is your grand, majestic equality in the law - forbids the millionaire and pauper

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alike to sleep under the public bridges. They are treated equally, with complete impartiality - the millionaire and the pauper, and the Procrustes' bed policy.

Now if we are nothing more than customers for Ontario in the four Atlantic provinces - put us at the very lowest, we are customers. We are mouths to be filled and backs to be covered. We are customers for the industry of this empire of Ontario, this vast province - or empire, if you like - of Quebec, and other great parts of Canada. At least we are customers. We provide jobs up here to people who make things to be sold down there. This is Confederation. This is Confederation. It is a way of forcing trade to go east and west where by all the laws of nature, if nothing else, it should be flowing north and south.

And who benefits? Ontario does, obviously, and the other provinces that could give their people jobs making things for sale, including Alberta, Alberta's oil and Saskatchewan's wheat - we eat bread too.

Confederation does this - it gives those provinces an opportunity to give jobs to their people by making things or growing things for sale in these other provinces. It also does something for these other provinces, because Confederation through the principle and the policy of equalization quite deliberately with malice - if that is the word - aforethought, as a deliberate policy, Confederation - or Ottawa - does some readjusting, but not enough.

The four provinces are not sharing enough in the wealth and in the greatness of Canada - not enough. But worse than that - and here is the Procrustes' bed policy back in ghoulish vigour again - if there have to be credit restrictions, if the bank rate has to be raised, if these fires of inflation have to be dampened in Ontario so far as Canadian government spending is concerned - I am not arguing whether this ought to be so or not, I do not know, but if it is done, why make it apply equally in provinces where there is no mad runaway inflation? A gentle tamping down of credit in Ontario could mean death and disaster in provinces that are not - I was going to say "the victims", but that would be the wrong word - but they are not the recipients of this magnificent inflation. We have no great inflation in Newfoundland and I doubt that they have very much in Nova Scotia and I would be surprised to hear that they had it in Prince Edward Island. I do not know about that wealthy province of New Brunswick, but I would suspect that what might be sensible to do in Ontario and British Columbia and possibly Alberta would be disastrous if done in Newfoundland in the way of restricting government spending.

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You see, in a province such as Ontario, the total amount of money that the Government of Canada spends is a small proportion only of what is spent in Ontario. Private industry spends far more in Ontario than does the Government of Canada and, I suppose, than does the Government of Ontario itself, for that matter. The private sector is the real spender.

But in Newfoundland, the Government of Canada in its expenditures, spends a much higher proportion than anything you dream of or would want to dream of, in Ontario. And the same across-the-board cuts in expenditure by the Canadian government which you might not even feel in Ontario can be disaster to us in Newfoundland.

Now whether that is a matter for a constitution, I do not know. I would doubt if you agree to rewrite Canada's Constitution, to allow for the kind of thing you have in a country such as the United States where they will divide the nation into regions - and they do - and impose different bank rates, different credit arrangements, different degrees of generosity or tightness in money. It varies from region to region across the United States. Could not something like that be done in Canada?

Why must every decade widen the gulf between Ontario - I say, Ontario and, Premier Robarts, this is not said in envy - God help us, the richer Ontario is, the happier we are - and Alberta. And British Columbia. There have got to be some very rich provinces.

But why, at the end of every decade? At the end of World War I, Ontario had emerged as a great industrial state - right? This is the net result of World War I in Canada, to make Ontario a great industrial state. At the end of World War II Ontario relative to the other parts of Canada was even greater. Good. This is fine, nothing wrong with that. But why must the gulf between rich Canada, strong Canada, prosperous, affluent Canada and the other provinces - why must that gulf be wider at the end of every ten years?

Now we have improved enormously in Newfoundland and I am sure they have in the other three provinces in these eighteen years since we were a province. We have gained more than the others because we had more to gain. We were further back than the others were, you see, on the day we became a province. We have all progressed. All Canadians have progressed. But the progress, the advancement, the increase in prosperity and development and therefore the increase and improvement in the quality of public service, schools, universities, hospitals, roads, paving, electrification, water and sewerage systems, housing and a dozen other things which are the criteria of modern development - in these matters greater economic development and expansion inevitably brings greater improvement and raising of the levels and standards of these public services. So you get it both ways.



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I notice that Premier Frost is here today and I remember his saying when he was in office as the Premier of this great province at a Dominion-provincial conference, saying something like this. He said, "You have all read that we have had three thousand new industries come to Ontario since the war." This was about ten years after the war. They already had three thousand new industries. He said, "You think this is wonderful, don't you?" - looking around at the nine of us, the other premiers. "You think this is wonderful. You don't realize the other side of it, all the new schools we have to build and all of the housing and all of the hospitals and all the new roads and paving and everything else". I said, "Stop, you are breaking my heart".

Once you have a system of disparity, that disparity widens and I suggest that we would be far better concerned today - not that I underestimate a number of these matters of Quebec; what decent Canadian in Canada today, who but a narrow intolerant bigot would deny every Canadian whose language is French any more than he would deny any Canadian whose language is English, the right for his own children and grandchildren to be educated in his own language? Who would deny that? Who but a bigot would do it? But whether you need a new constitution to bring that about, I don't know. I have some doubts; seriously doubt that you need to throw out the baby with the dirty water. And we will go along with you, but will you go along with us? If you want to play around with constitutional problems, we will force ourselves to be interested. But will you do a little forcing too and will you be in favour and take a positive stand for this, that these have-not provinces, a term you don't hear any more, because we are not have-not, we are only have-not compared with Ontario. We have, we have lots, but not that the gulf is getting any wider - "ill fares the land to hasten the ills of prey where wealth accumulates and men delay and the rich get richer, the poor get poorer" - the rich provinces get richer and the poor provinces don't get poorer, but they get poorer in relation to the rich ones. This is the problem.

Down in the - Mr. St. Laurent, when he was Prime Minister of Canada threw out a challenge; I think it was to Mr. Hugh John Fleming who was then the Premier of New Brunswick. He said, "Look, tell us; will you four provinces down there by the Atlantic, will you tell us what you want? You are always telling us that you are downtrodden, telling us you are not getting a share, a proper share of Canada's wealth, will you tell us what you want? What is there you think that Canada ought to do that she is not doing for you?"

So we set up APEC, Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, A-P-E-C, and the prodigious amount of work done and the money we spent hiring hundred-dollar-a-day economists and statisticians and compiling reports - we now



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have about half a ton. I don't think - Premier Robarts, as you say it is about a thousand pounds of documents - about half a ton. That is what APEC has done for us, and in the meanwhile the gulf has widened indeed. It has. We have improved, but the gulf has widened.

Now do you expect us seriously, if you won't interest yourselves in this side of the Canadian problem, do you seriously expect us to get all hot and bothered and excited about constitutional changes? Do you seriously? I tell you, you will be wasting your time. We just won't.

We have a problem as Canadians, as Canadian provinces. We have a problem and if this Conference can help to point in the general direction of solution then it will be for us time well spent.

Premier Robarts, excuse me for taking so long, because I didn't have time to make a short speech.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Mr. Smallwood, may I say thank you for a very colourful exposition of a very real problem, and I think that I can say on behalf of Ontario, to which you referred on several occasions, that we have never backed away from our responsibilities in this regard and we don't propose to back away from them in the future.

Hon. R. W. Bonner (Attorney-General of British Columbia):

Mr. Prime Minister and gentlemen. These last sixteen years, at conferences of this sort, should have taught me the unwisdom of attempting to follow Premier Smallwood.

However, I welcome on behalf of British Columbia the opportunity to participate in this Conference, essentially to observe the points of view which arise in other parts of the country and with the intention of contributing a point of view pertinent to our province where I trust it might provide diversity, in the Canadian tradition, on the examination of the future of the country.

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May I say at the outset, however, that having attended the meeting at Charlottetown in 1964 and at that place having received some of the flavour of the discussions which took place there a hundred years earlier, how interesting it is to realize that in a hundred years we have moved from rather simple surroundings to the surroundings which we now enjoy today.

I think in this connection it might also be said that neither in purpose nor in plane is it possible to imagine a conference on a higher level than the one we are embarked upon.

I am grateful for Prime Minister Smallwood's views on the desirability of constitutional change because in a more expressive way than I might have hoped to do so, I think he has served to outline some of our position about the pressing need for constitutional change at this time.

In preparing to participate in this Conference, like everybody else around these tables, I have done a good deal of reading on the works which have been in the popular press and in the legal tomes and in the professorial ranks about the deficiencies of the British North America Act as a viable constitution for our nation, and I must say that I dissent from the extreme views which have been uttered by some, which were to the effect that this Constitution has been a failure or that it is inadequate for the present, because it just happens that the Constitution of our country is now one of the senior surviving constitutions among the western democracies and one with not an unnotable record of achievement so far as composing solutions for problems within our nation is concerned. We have in fact been able - although we have no formula for it - to amend our Constitution from time to time in a useful way and in the adaptation of our existing institutions, not the least noticeable of which is the Dominion-provincial conference, we have within our constitutional framework perhaps more flexibility than we ordinarily acknowledge. In fact, to refer to the Dominion-provincial conferences as only one example, we have elevated to public view a new level of governmental apparatus, which frankly, could not have been foreseen a hundred years ago. And the frequency of interprovincial discussion, either at the policy or administrative level, has become also an evidence of the fairly useful flexibility which is inherent in our Constitution at this time.

I am not going to imply in these remarks that the Constitution is perfect. Obviously no constitutional document is ever perfect. And this is a platitude, but perhaps needs repeating, because I think it is fundamentally true, but in regard to our Constitution, I think Ontario has indicated, among a number of excellent remarks, sir, three basic principles which have permitted us to come this far without great injury to ourselves.

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First, and the re-stated position of Ontario, that Canada is a federal state and not a unitary one, has permitted a remarkable variety of regional development and growth. In two particular regions of Canada I think the economic result of this is not what is wished for (and I would like to talk about that in a little while), but the fact is that we are not a unitary state. And the great merit of the federal system, given the breadth of our geography and the diversity of our regional background is to imply in real terms that this nation may go forward in a very useful, friendly and co-operative way, with really quite wide variations of personal modes of life and without one area seeking to impose its views on the other.

And I think, in this diversity, given sufficient time, which I am sure we can look forward to enjoy, Canada will become a truly rich nation in its heritage, because I am sure that the circumstances which are in pockets as to people and as to attitudes today, will not remain.

The Constitution has really no effect on how people live. We really cannot successfully broker among ourselves, either our linguistic or our cultural attitudes. These are the ways people live and if we were to say, as King Canute, "Stop", nothing really would happen, because whatever the tide of events is, will be, and we should realize that although exploration and examination are both important and necessary, politicians may propose, but the population of the nation will, in its personal habits, dispose of most of these propositions over a period of time.

And I emphasize, from our point of view at least, the desirability of preserving in our regional differences the diversity upon which the future of the nation can be built, sure in the knowledge that these diversities as they may exist today, will become surely less as time goes by, as the nation fills up with people, as we get to know one another better, as the freedom to move about the country and the desirability of moving about the country becomes more apparent, and so on.

And in this respect, and with my own flavour upon the principle enunciated, I endorse very much the principles outlined by Prime Minister Robarts in his keynote statement, at the early part of the Conference.

Then finally, I think the fundamental consideration, which I think is not an issue here, is that there is only one government which speaks for the nation abroad. This is a principle which is acknowledged in our province. I intend to speak for no one else.

In the matter of international dealings affecting our sovereignty and our international reputation, and so on, there is only one government that can do this effectively. This is not to imply that in the area of cultural experience, in the area of what is essentially municipal law, there is not a proper role for local situations across the border, if need be, or with other countries and cultures, if need be.

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But I think we all should be very clear that we are not here to nibble away at the national government, their capacity and responsibility to deal with us and for us, abroad. So in that respect, Mr. Prime Minister, I embrace the principles which you had outlined earlier.

I mentioned a little while ago the question of flexibility so far as our Constitution is concerned, and I want to close on that note, after dealing with the general area raised expressly and impliedly by Prime Minister Smallwood of Newfoundland. And I refer to the economic questions; whether they be the proper concern of a constitutional conference, I much doubt, but that they are the proper concern of provincial leaders, I am certain. And the unfortunate fact is that in their constitutional implications, region by region, there can be no doubt about the lack of success of Confederation today.

Whether this arises as a result of our Constitution, I don't for a moment think. The fault, if I may put it in this way, I think lies not in our constitutional stars but in ourselves. We have so far not addressed ourselves fundamentally to the economic problems, which frankly beset the Atlantic provinces and to an almost equal extent beset the Province of Quebec.

I recognize and I think we ought to be frank with the nation, to lay before the public of this country, the stark facts about the per capita income, region by region, in Canada. I speak, as everyone does in this room, to gatherings from time to time and statistics of this sort are interesting to me. I doubt that the public of the country is aware of the enormous difference between the per capita incomes of Ontario, British Columbia, who happen to have the good fortune to lead in this regard at the moment, and the other extremes affecting the people of the Atlantic provinces, and as I say, to a lesser extent, the Province of Quebec, because its per capita income, and indeed its family income is less than the national average.

And this has to be the basis of fundamental strain on the nation. We have, in an endeavour to cope with this thing, entered into the most elaborate, and at times tortured, formulae with our national government about the redistribution of income tax, and I was pleased to hear reference to the "Procrustes' bed" policy of the national government, because in this regard, we feel like the occupants whose feet are sometimes threatened by Procrustean federal policies.

But I don't mean to dismiss this with a joke. The fundamental fact is that the tax rearrangements of the country have produced an assured income for the governments of the nation, but the Economic Council and every other study that you can put your hands to reveal that in all the



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years of my life, 47 years now, back to 1920, the relative position of the wage earners in this country, region by region, has not altered with respect to the other regions. Everybody has gone up a wee bit with the balloon, but the Atlantic provinces have not risen in relation to Quebec and Ontario; Quebec and Ontario have not altered with respect to one another; the Prairies and British Columbia have not essentially altered with respect to one another.

We are therefore, at this Conference certainly with constitutional questions foremost in our minds, but we are not, I think, looking at the Confederation of tomorrow only with constitutional questions before us. We cannot solve many of these questions only by an alteration of the Constitution; in fact the Constitution has really nothing to do with it. This Conference requires, I think, the frank delineation of economic difficulty and the frank appraisal, even if only from a provincial point of view, of what policy we might suggest for national alteration to improve the situation.

I am aware that the Province of Nova Scotia a year or two ago, in an effort to meet with this question in its Legislature, passed a resolution about a limited economic unit in the Atlantic provinces - if I am correct in my recollection of this, a limited trading arrangement with the Atlantic states.

I am not saying that this is the answer, but these are the types of questions which I suggest in the economic side of our discussion in the next couple of days we ought to face.

There is a position on the agenda for the more careful examination of linguistic and cultural attitudes and I will reserve my main remarks in the event that that comes up in detail.

But on this question, I offer, for the consideration of the Conference, the view that there are other ways of seeing the nation develop. There are other philosophies for looking to Confederation tomorrow other than the duality of cultures or languages as they have so far been expressed. And I am not saying that the view which I offer on behalf of British Columbia would be the same in a hundred years time if our population were different at that time. What I do say is that in relation to our population at this moment we have a responsibility not only to the ancient culture and language which is at the foundation of our nation. We have a responsibility in percentages and in numbers to other cultures and languages which have made their place in our province. I suggest that there is room in the diversity of this nation for a province or a region or any grouping that you might imagine, to embrace the continuation of what can only be described as an egalitarian point of view with respect to both language and culture, and

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I would point out in our own province almost since Confederation we have had these diversities of cultural contribution and language contribution almost without alteration. In fact to speak of French only, percentage-wise there are fewer of French origin in British Columbia today than there were in 1880, and this is a fact of life. We have in almost equal representation a group of Dutch, of Germany, of Polish and Russian, of Scandinavian, of equal to or greater numbers than French in our culture and community, and we feel at this point that we have a responsibility not to place them in any other position than that which they presently occupy; and I suggest in the richness of the Canadian fabric in which diversity is an inherent element, there is room for the legitimate putting forward of this point of view.

I don't want to get into that; as I say, I will reserve that for later.

But now I want to conclude, if I may, Mr. Prime Minister, on what I think is a tangible proposition, a tangible point of view to which this Conference might properly address itself.

We have been discussing, and the background papers set out in almost bewildering detail, the thing which we can discuss and we can change, and I am not saying we ought not to discuss them. Certainly we ought to and we shall do so.

But I submit at this point our problem is not only what to change; our even more fundamental problem - the condition precedent to 'what' is 'how', and I recall to the Conference's attention that when we met in Charlottetown in 1964 and indeed when the provincial attorneys met, and I in their company in 1960 and '61, we were concerned with how to change the Constitution.

There was published by Guy Favreau, on the responsibility of the national government, a white paper entitled "The Amendment of the Constitution in Canada" and the facts are that if there is one area of failure in Canada in the first one hundred years of its history, it has been the failure of Canadians to decide the one simple question of a technique by formula either for changing the Constitution or changing it in Canada.

Now, I was not, in these discussions, terribly impressed with the need for this problem to be solved. Nevertheless, British Columbia was one of the contributors to the solution then reached. I am convinced of one thing. If we want to take ourselves seriously, and I know we do, and more than that if we want the public to regard what we say as seriously as we appoint ourselves serious arbiters of the country's future, then at some point, and with deference I say sooner than later, we ought to address ourselves or re-address ourselves to the fundamental proposition of how to amend the Canadian Constitution in Canada.

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This is not a matter of repatriation. The Constitution in the sense of repatriation has never been here unless you talk about the Charlottetown discussion and the other confabulations at that time which gave rise to the enactment in Westminster of the British North America Act. What we have to do is to devise a method of the Constitution's patriation, and I submit with deference to the obvious importance of everything else that may be discussed at this Conference the fundamental desirability, indeed the condition precedent to orderly change in our nation, of solving the simple question of how do we amend our Constitution.

And with deference to the suggested agenda, Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to submit at this time that this question be added to the many subjects which have been already set forth.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

I am quite sure, Mr. Bonner, that we can find a place on this very flexible agenda for that particular point. It has been pretty thoroughly discussed at one time or another; I don't know if we want to go through all that discussion again at this Conference but what we might do is put it on the agenda as something that should be dealt with and perhaps we will be able to devise among ourselves some approach to dealing with it.

Gentlemen, it is now 12:30; we will break off for lunch and resume at three o'clock.

For the delegates and observers to the Conference there is a buffet luncheon in the delegates' lounge. We can arrange a private lunch for any of the leaders of delegations if they wish it in the premiers' lounge.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

We don't have to eat here, do we?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

You don't have to. We are completely flexible, Mr. Smallwood. We will provide the facilities; you may treat them as you wish.

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AFTERNOON SESSION

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

As I pointed out in my opening remarks this morning, there is nothing inviolate or rigid about the agenda which we have published and put before the delegates. The first item was the short statement by the leader of each delegation. There is no limitation on the number of times anyone may wish to speak on any one subject on the agenda. If any of the delegates would like to add any further comments as a result of what has been said during the morning session, we would be very pleased to receive them. We will then go on to the topic for the second session which is headed "The Goals of Canadians."

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Would you repeat that, please -- "de Gaulle" of Canadians?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Well done. Well done, Mr. Robichaud -- "The Goals of Canadians."

Mr. Manning, would you care to proceed at this time?

Hon. E. C. Manning (Premier of Alberta):

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I would like to join in the congratulations that have been extended to you, Mr. Robarts, and the initiative you have taken in convening this Conference, and also to join in the expressions of appreciation that have been voiced regarding the arrangements which you have made for the gathering here today.

In my view, the importance of a conference of this kind it would be very difficult to over-emphasize. I do not think that it would be exaggeration to say that out of a conference such as this there can come a new opportunity in this nation to strengthen the national ties, to face the national problems and develop the answers that are necessary for the second century of our nationhood.



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I believe that it is equally true to say that if we fail in that objective we can very easily at a conference of this kind add to the confusion and even aggravate the disagreements and the tensions of which we are all aware in our nation at the present time.

With these thoughts in mind, it seems to me that we all address ourselves to the subject matters of the Conference with a deep consciousness of the need for a very serious and a very objective approach to the matters that we are here to consider.

I am sure that it will also be accepted that there is need for complete honesty and complete frankness on the part of all of us. Many of us, I am sure, have felt that some of our national problems of recent years have been aggravated by a tendency to shut our eyes to pertinent facts and hope that in the process they will disappear and we will not have to face them, rather than a frank and honest assessment of the facts as they are, and then proceeding from that point to try to come up with something acceptable and with some practical answers.

I am sure we are all deeply conscious, also, of the fact that we speak here today as Canadians while representing the various provincial governments of Canada and therefore the legitimate concerns and interests of particular regions. But we are not here today to look at these problems from that standpoint alone. We are here to look at them from the standpoint of the overall nationhood of Canada and the responsibility that each of us has to that nationhood as well as to our local legitimate interests and regional concerns.

I would emphasize but one other point in these opening comments and that is this, that I think it is very important also that we appreciate that we are not here today to voice the opinions or to join sides with vocal minorities who very often are irresponsible and very seldom express the considered viewpoint and opinion of the Canadian people as such.

Rather, I consider that we are here today to try and voice what we sincerely believe are the concerns and the convictions and the desires of those many millions of Canadian citizens who normally are not very vocal and whose viewpoint is often lost in the clamour of the vocal minorities who are good at getting the headlines and the sensationalism that in my view does more harm than good in attempts to resolve the problems that we have in Canada today.

In the comments that were made this morning it was borne out that the concerns of Canadian people embrace many grounds. There are social concerns or economic and financial concerns; there are racial and cultural and language concerns; there are constitutional issues and there are the matters that tie in with the inter-relationships between federal and

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provincial levels of government.

We start, I feel, by recognizing that in each of these areas there are very real and very definite problems and also that there are many different desires and different opinions and different aspirations. These differences certainly must be respected and at the same time we must not permit these differences to prevent or to deny to Canada as a nation, a clear-cut, positive national aim and objective which is, in my view, absolutely essential to true nationhood.

The first proposition that I would like to offer for the consideration of the Conference is that a great deal of ambiguity and confusion exists as to just what are the desires and the aspirations and the concerns and even the grievances of the Canadian people at the present time.

Canada, I believe, has suffered from a great deal of psychoanalysis in recent years, often by self-appointed authorities who have discussed every conceivable aspect of what is wrong with Canadian nationhood. I am not quarrelling with the right of people to psychoanalyse themselves or their country, but I do suggest that there is a grave danger in that type of thing that we lose sight of the overall problem and lose the perspective that it seems to me is essential in assessing the problem and trying to come up with a practical solution.

It therefore seems to me appropriate, Mr. Chairman, to suggest three points that really perhaps fall in the realm of procedure that we might attempt to follow in this country and at this Conference.

In coming to grips with the problems that confront us today: number one, I feel that we need to spell out and try and reach some reasonable agreement on precisely what are the facts with respect to Canada's present national position. Facts are stubborn things, as I said earlier; there is nothing gained by shutting our eyes to facts or sweeping them under the rug and hoping that they will disappear if we pretend that they are not around.

It is my very firm conviction that there is a great need in our country at the present time to get through all this ambiguity and get right down first of all to a recognized understanding of just what are the facts of Canadian nationhood today. And then if we don't like those facts, and undoubtedly some of us will not like some of them or even all of them, then at least let's start from that premise to consider what changes we want to see made to remove the factual situations with which we may disagree.

Secondly, and closely associated with the point I have just

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mentioned, it seems to me that there is a very great need for us to ascertain precisely what are the desires and what are the aspirations of those who are unhappy or dissatisfied with the present situation in this country today.

I believe these points of dissatisfaction must be much more clearly and precisely defined than they are at the present time. For many of us, I am sure, are concerned when we talk to our fellow citizens across this country to find that many of them are under the impression that there are some serious things wrong with Canadian Confederation, and some serious tensions on Canadian unity, but when you seek to get them to state precisely what the problems are, what are the points of disagreement, I feel that you find a very wide range of contradiction and confusion and ambiguity.

In my submission, not only must we start from the premise of precisely what are the facts of Confederation and of Canada as an entity today, but we must know with a great deal more precision than we know at the present time, just exactly what are the desires and aspirations of those who are dissatisfied and unhappy with Canada as it is right now.

Now this, Mr. Chairman, is another way perhaps of saying the time has come, in my view at least, to get away from vague generalities and rather meaningless platitudes and get right down to cases as to what are the facts of the situation as it exists, what are the points of disagreement and the precise desires and aspirations of those who want to see changes.

And if those two things are clearly defined, then the third step it seems to me is for us to ascertain what practical and possible and realistic steps can be taken to reconcile the differences between Canada as Canada is today and Canada as Canadians in general, or sections of Canadians, would like to see Canada today; to what extent can those conflicting aspirations be reconciled, and what procedures can we follow to bring about such a reconciliation?

I will not go into the detail of these at this time but during this Conference I would hope to enlarge a little bit on those three things which I regard as pretty fundamental premises, as far as procedure is concerned.

Reference has been made in the opening statements today, and in the discussions back over the past number of years, to the bearing that these considerations have on the Canadian Constitution - whether we should amend or change our Constitution, whether we should attempt to rewrite a wholly new constitution for Canada.



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(Hon. Mr. Manning)

Perhaps I might be permitted to comment on that particular point. It is my own very firm conviction that it is unrealistic to hope for a new constitution for Canada to be successfully developed at the present time, or in the foreseeable future. I have grave reservations as to whether it is necessary, but that is beside the point.

The reason I say I question seriously whether it is practical to consider anything in the way of writing a new constitution is based mainly on two things. First, the experience of this country in the past.

Many of you gentlemen here today are well aware of the series of discussions which went back over many years. In trying to arrive at an amending formula for the Constitution of Canada, and even to deal with the relatively simple point of patriation or domicile of the Constitution in Canada, I submit that both of those are matters that are much simpler of treatment than the idea of starting from scratch and rewriting a new constitution for this nation. And yet we are faced with the fact that thus far it has not been possible to secure the measure of agreement among the respective governments of Canada either to take the simple step of domicile of the Constitution in our own country or to agree on an amending formula that was acceptable to all of the levels of government and sections of our nation. And if that has proven impossible or, to date, impossible, in those two, I submit, relatively simple areas, I find it extremely difficult to believe that it would be possible under conditions as they are in Canada today to start from scratch and write a new constitution and get the measure of agreement necessary to make it effective.

But I mention this point at this time for a second reason. It seems to me that the concern about a new constitution should be considered not only from the standpoint of whether it is practical to do it, even if it was desirable, but that we should also consider it from the standpoint of whether it is the most fundamental requirement or even the desirable requirement in our endeavour to get at the specific problems which are putting tensions and stresses on our Canadian Confederation at the present time.

Again my submission to this Conference is that constitutional rewriting, or even any substantial amendment, is not a vital requirement to get at the basic problems with which we are concerned.

I do not believe that there is a procedure that is most likely to produce a desirable result. And perhaps I might illustrate that in just a couple of points. If I might take the question of the rights of Canadians as they have been referred to in recent years, with respect to culture and language and so on, and I pick this illustration because it is one on which I have expressed myself in the past, on which I think I can correctly say my view has quite frequently been taken out of its context.



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It is my very firm conviction that, facing the facts as they are today and our Constitution as it is today, it cannot be accurately said that Canada is a union or was a union of two races or two cultures or two languages.

I am not speaking now of the desirability or otherwise of that position. I am speaking of what I submit is the plain straightforward historic fact.

As we read the history of what preceded Confederation, what took place at the time of Confederation, it seems to be rather clear that the steps that finally led to Confederation in 1867 grew to a considerable extent out of what was almost an impasse that had developed under the old Act of Union of 1840.

Certainly the Act of Union put, I believe, a great deal more emphasis on the racial and language differences of the day than was embodied in the steps that were taken at the time of Confederation in 1867. It seems to me not inaccurate to suggest that the Confederation of 1867 to a considerable degree was, as I have said, an attempt to break the impasse that had developed prior to that time.

I think it is for this reason that in the debates preceding Confederation and in the B.N.A. Act itself there is nothing whatever to indicate there was any thought of Confederation being a union of two races and two cultures and two languages and so on. It was rather a union of provinces for some very obvious reasons and with the hope of achieving some very obvious objectives at that time.

Now if we accept that as the historic fact, it should not be interpreted as rejection of the interests, the concerns of those who put the language or racial or cultural aspects of nationhood in perhaps even a higher priority than the financial and economic and social aspects which have been also mentioned at this discussion today.

But the point I particularly want to stress, Mr. Chairman, is that in trying to establish in Canada the greatest degree of national unity which we all accept as being directly related to our national strength as a nation, we must recognize that it is one thing to approach the people who make up the various cultural and language and racial entities of this country with the proposition that the greatest respect for and appreciation of the interests of other groups in this field is a desirable thing, is a constructive thing and is something in which we should all be interested. That is one approach that in my view gets a very warm response from everyone unless they are completely bigoted in matters of this kind.

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It is a very different thing to go to sections of the Canadian people and say that these things are the rights of certain groups, because immediately emphasis is shifted from a consideration of whether the objective is a desirable thing from the standpoint of the strength and diversity and variety and richness of the nation as a whole; the emphasis is shifted from that to a debate over whether this group has rights that this group doesn't have and so on. Mr. Chairman, I feel that this is a point that cannot be emphasized too strongly.

I believe I can say accurately for my section of Canada for which I have a particular responsibility to speak, the Province of Alberta, that to go to the people of my particular province and say that the French language or the French culture - and I mention those quite frankly because they are the ones that are most pertinent in these discussions - that these are rights granted in the Constitution of Canada with a formal and constitutional status, I think that that immediately would generate a very, very strong resentment that would be completely contrary to the establishment of the kind of unity and strength that we all seek.

I say this for very obvious reasons because we have a number of sections of our society who numerically are far larger, and a very respected group of citizens in our part of Canada who happen to be of French origin; but you cannot go to these other people and say that this particular group has a legal or constitutional right that you do not possess. I think this is generally true across Canada as a whole when we remember that we have over five million Canadians today who are of neither Anglo-Saxon or French origin.

On the other hand, if you go to those people and say the French language and the French culture are not only greatly desirable in themselves for their own intrinsic value, that they are not only a language and a culture that can contribute tremendously to the richness of Canadian heritage and culture, and that it is a desirable thing for every Canadian, no matter what his own ethnic origin or his present position, to appreciate the value and the richness of these things, to become as familiar with them as it is possible for him in his capacity to become - this, I am convinced, meets with a very warm response and will move the public far more rapidly to the place of achieving this feeling-at-home, as I think one of our premiers mentioned this morning, of the people of this particular culture and language anywhere in Canada, than will ever be achieved in many parts of this nation by trying to say to the Canadian people that this is something that ought to be entrenched as a constitutional right and it ought to be approached from that standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, I will not labour this point farther at this time but I close these remarks simply by saying that I, for one, am a very, very firm believer in what is sometimes referred to as the doctrine of

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variety. It simply means that no two individuals are alike; no two cultures are alike; no two races are alike; and that this rather than being an undesirable thing is a very desirable and a very good thing.

I do not subscribe to the melting-pot philosophy of trying to boil all of these down into some common mould and turning out a hybrid creature which is a little bit of each one. I am very firmly of the opinion that the greatest secret to Canada's potential richness of culture and language, and even unity, lies in our people, no matter what their racial or cultural background may be, recognizing the fact of variety, the desirability of variety and the responsibility and opportunity that rests with all of us to encourage the preservation of that variety and its respect by all people, no matter how they may differ from any other individuals or groups.

If we accept the doctrine of variety as a good thing, then surely our goal in Canada should be to establish in this country a society in which as far as racial and cultural and language issues are concerned, we grant to all of them the maximum of tribute and respect and recognition.

I emphasize once more if we attempt to do that by a procedure of giving certain entities from among that great variety constitutional status, or establish them in the form of rights that other groups do not enjoy, I submit with the greatest of sincerity that in my view we will be detracting from Canadian greatness, we will be undermining Canadian unity and we will be working in the very opposite direction to what we should be working if our desired objective is this unity that comes from mutual admiration and respect of the differences in race, language and culture that exist between us.

It is for this reason that I said earlier I have never been very enthusiastic about constitutional revisions or things of this kind. I think that in the economic and financial and social areas that we mentioned this morning, there is just as much need there to spell out precisely what the differences are. And even there, many of these differences, I think, can be resolved without attempting to resolve them by constitutional amendments, which seem to have a very bad habit of bogging down and never reaching finality.

These, Mr. Chairman, are merely a few preliminary observations I submit in the greatest seriousness, for the consideration of our deliberations here today.



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Hon. W. R. Thatcher (Premier of Saskatchewan):

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, when we were invited to this Conference, we were a bit vague as to what precisely it was expected to accomplish, but we do welcome the opportunity of expressing a very few views on our ideas of Confederation and we do thank the Premier and the Government of Ontario for showing the initiative in calling and organizing this Conference.

I must say that in a general way, our province is not dissatisfied with Confederation as it exists today. We think we are not doing too badly under it, and I must join those other premiers who have said in passing that the Constitution is not a big issue.

I suppose in Saskatchewan, if we had a hundred problems, the Constitution would be the one hundred and first, but we also realize that from a national point of view, this may not be the case.

Now, if we are discussing the Constitution, if we are discussing the future of Confederation, I suppose our first concern must be national unity. There is little point in examining the alternative forms of Confederation, unless all Canadians sincerely want to see our nation survive as a strong force, united in fulfilling its role, providing a better life for all peoples, both at home and abroad.

But in Saskatchewan, I think probably that our concerns with Confederation are more economic than cultural.

I maybe would like to say a word or so on a few bread and butter issues as we see them in Saskatchewan.

Now I would like other premiers and other provinces to realize that since 1905, we think in Saskatchewan we have had to pay a fairly high price for our citizenship in Canada. Canada's tariff wall, for example, year after year has been detrimental and is still detrimental, to our western economy.

Freight rates generally, in our opinion, have been discriminatory and are discriminatory. They are harmful to our economic interests.

We have endured these conditions because we believed that in the long run, national unity would win out and because we felt that this was not too high a price to pay for the privilege of Canadian citizenship.

No province in Canada today is more determined than Saskatchewan, to work with everything at our command to preserve the unity of Canada. However, in the second one hundred years of Confederation, we shall ask for rectification of certain economic injustices as we see them.



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Mr. Chairman, we believe that the second area of general concern in the future must continue to be that of equality of opportunity for every citizen of Canada. We cannot claim in all honesty today that such equality of opportunity now exists throughout our nation. In far too many areas of Canada, young men and women are today thrown upon the labour market uneducated for the swiftly changing, skill-demanding future and too many highly intelligent young citizens are working at jobs well below their potential, because the facilities to train them for better careers do not yet exist.

We believe very firmly that all governments in Canada must come to realize that equality of opportunity will exist only when education is viewed as the responsibility of all.

Now today I don't propose, as the Chairman suggested we shouldn't, that we talk about federal-provincial financing. But I also know that some governments do not agree with this viewpoint. But in Saskatchewan, we would like to see an arrangement whereby in some manner the federal government could help finance education at all levels.

Canada is a diverse and a complex nation. It has five regions. We believe that in the Confederation of tomorrow more attention must be paid to the various problems of these regions, not just to the more densely populated areas of central Canada, and new approaches will have to be taken if the problems of all regions are to be resolved.

Just for a moment, as I say, I would like to be specific. In the Confederation of the future, Saskatchewan believes that we cannot, for example, continue with our present lack of a national highway system. It is a matter of regret to Saskatchewan that after one hundred years as a nation, we still do not have such a system. There is no other nation in the western world which lacks such a program.

We believe that the day soon must come when the federal government will have to embark on a highway program, similar to that which exists in the United States, a program which provides financial assistance to provinces, in building main arterial roads.

I don't know whether you have to change the Constitution or not to achieve that objective. But certainly serious study should be given to a constitutional amendment if necessary, to make development of such a highway system possible.

Now another problem of increasing concern, to us at least, is the administration of Indian affairs. Our Indian people have one of the highest birth rates in the world. Today, for the most part, Indians are the responsibility of the Government of Canada. At the same time, the social

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and economic conditions engendered by their depressed state are fast becoming western Canada's, certainly Saskatchewan's foremost social problem.

Saskatchewan is convinced that this problem can only be solved by joint federal-provincial action. And if a constitutional amendment is needed, if it is necessary, in order to permit the provinces to assume some of the administration of Indian affairs yet let the federal government pay for a good proportion of it, then we are in favour of that constitutional change.

Now not all parts of Canada began their development at the same stage in history. Therefore any national policy affecting industrial development must take this into account.

It is obvious today that restrictions on foreign investment have gained some sentiment in some areas of Canada, where investment funds are already plentiful, or where smaller amounts of capital are required.

In the case of Saskatchewan, however, development has come late. Our natural resource potential can only be realized through the investment of gigantic sums of money, sums which simply are not available in Canada and must be sought abroad.

In our consideration of national goals, therefore, we feel that one principle must be kept foremost. National policy must never act against the best interest of one region for the benefit of another region, and Saskatchewan must therefore reject any national goal which would prove restrictive to the development of her resources for the benefit of our people.

It is our hope that from this Conference will emerge acceptable working proposals to improve communications between the federal and provincial governments. Saskatchewan recognizes the federal government's awesome financial responsibilities. People in Saskatchewan, and I think elsewhere on the prairies, feel very strongly that the federal government has a job to do in ensuring national economic growth, and the federal government must have adequate financial resources to cope with unemployment and economic recession.

It must have sufficient funds to equalize living standards between the have and the have-not provinces. In our opinion, the national government can fulfil these responsibilities only if it is able to retain adequate taxing powers.

Obviously then, as we see it, provincial governments must be extremely cautious in increasing their demands on the provincial treasury.

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Over the past few years, people in Saskatchewan, I think people in western Canada, have watched with some apprehension, the apparent unrest in relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada. To most of us, as has been pointed out repeatedly today, Canada without Quebec is unthinkable. We have understanding for the so-called class revolution taking place in that province and we have real sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of our French-Canadian fellow citizens.

Western Canadians are growing increasingly concerned with the economic demands of Quebec; we are increasingly concerned that if those demands go too far Confederation could be weakened or even ended. Year after year we have watched all the provinces in Confederation make ever-increasing financial demands on the treasury. We have already said we strongly believe that the federal government must retain adequate financial resources to cope with unemployment and economic recession.

For these reasons, Saskatchewan would be obliged to oppose any move through which the people of any province, any single province in our Confederation, were given special privileges not available to all the people of Canada.

We want the people of Quebec to have every right and every privilege that the people of Saskatchewan have but we don't want them to have any greater rights or any more privileges.

Saskatchewan has come to this Conference I hope with an open mind. I think it can be said that we are satisfied, we are in accord with the B.N.A. Act. We have already indicated at other conferences that the adoption of the Fulton-Favreau formula would be satisfactory to us. We are not convinced that a new constitution for Canada is required, although we would like to see early repatriation or patriation, whatever you want to call it, of the Constitution so that Canada could amend the Act without reference to the British parliament.

Saskatchewan hopes, Mr. Chairman, that through goodwill and a sincere desire to resolve our problems for the benefit of all Canadians in the future this Conference will achieve historic significance.

Again I thank you, Premier Robarts, for this invitation.



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Hon. Mr. Robarts:

If there is nothing which anyone wishes to say arising out of the statements which have been made, we might now move on to the second item on the agenda which is labelled "The Goals of Canadians". In the proposed agenda we listed such things as "What are the common concerns of all Canadians in 1967?". You will note that we put in the agenda some illustrations of what these might be. Many of them have been touched upon in the opening statements, such things as the quality of life, linguistic and cultural heritage, economic growth, minimum national standards, education, Canada's position internationally, and perhaps, what some of the major obstacles to the attainment of these goals are.

When we first were developing the agenda, this particular item gave us a good deal of concern because, by its very nature, it is broad, it might lend itself to superficial treatment. On the other hand when one considers it, it does appear to be pretty basic to what we are attempting to accomplish here today. If we can see what are some of the basic goals to which the Canadian people aspire, then it might make some of our other discussions easier, so we placed it on the agenda for consideration, fully realizing that it was perhaps a little difficult to deal with.

It may be that there will be different approaches to it, different provinces and different delegations will approach it from different points of view. However, it seems to me that the opening statements show this. Woven into each one of the opening statements certainly was some very pronounced reference to goals, particularly of the regions represented by the provincial governments.

I would like, if I may, to begin the discussion on this particular point and deal with one aspect of it, those goals which are of concern to us in Ontario. Certainly what I am about to say will not be in any way exhaustive, either of our thinking in Ontario or what we think our goals, as Canadians, should be.

I would like to begin by saying that the question of regional versus national interests, which has been touched upon in several of the opening statements, is one of the questions that concerns us very deeply in Canada. It is something with which we in Ontario are very familiar. Premier Smallwood, I would like to point out that what you see from the 54th floor of the Toronto-Dominion Building in Toronto is not necessarily all of Ontario. We in this province really have within our borders just about as many variations as does the country of Canada, although we are of course on a smaller scale. We might be called a microcosm of Canada. We have French-speaking areas; we have English-speaking areas; we have some groups of people who speak neither of these languages; we have rich areas and we have poor areas; we have declining areas and we have growing areas; some parts of our province are characterized by resource industries; some



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are primarily agricultural. When you look out the window of this building you see the urban industrial part of Ontario which is pretty well limited to the southwestern portion of the province.

We actually have in this province some people who have certain separatist leanings, who feel that they might be better off attached to some other province than to remain part of this province and this question raises itself occasionally.

So that I can only say this: as one travels through Ontario and is charged with the responsibility of providing government in this province, I sometimes find myself with a great feeling of sympathy for the federal government and some of the problems with which they have to deal on a national basis from coast to coast.

I point this out to you only to say that while we do have these regional differences in our province - and I relate this now to all Canada - we, as politicians, natural as the desire might be to satisfy the aims and aspirations and wishes of the various areas of the province, certainly have to take a broader view of our problems than that.

When we talk about equality of opportunity - and I think that this point was made this morning very well in several of the opening statements - let us not talk about equality of opportunity in regions but let's talk about equality of opportunity in terms of people, in terms of individuals. Because, after all, whatever political forms we may create and whatever regions we may talk about, they are created and they exist only for the purpose of serving individual people.

We in Ontario are very conscious of the very affluent heartland, if I may put it that way, of industrial United States, which is just across the border from us. It beams its television on us; it attracts our young people with employment opportunities that are perhaps greater than we can offer in this province - higher salaries and higher standards of living. Thus we have this great pull away from our country. We feel that the only way we can counteract the pull that comes to us from our neighbours to the south is to be able to compete with them by offering opportunities to our skilled people here. In offering, as you have pointed out, Mr. Thatcher, opportunities to develop skills, which can be done only through educational systems and by offering some living amenities.

To achieve this we must be even more competitive than our neighbours. We must be more aware and more able to take advantage of any changing conditions. We must adapt our economy, our attitudes and our social structures in order to present to our own people a distinctive Canadian identity.

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This is one of the primary goals which we must have in Canada - to establish a Canadian identity that is recognizable, that has within it advantages that appeal to people to counteract these pulls that I have described coming from our neighbour to the south.

We in this province as part of our Centennial celebrations, through the Ontario Council of the Arts in co-operation with Quebec, had a Centennial art exhibit. We asked an outstanding British art curator to come here to judge these works. It was very interesting to have his opinion and to find out that he was quite amazed by the quality and the vitality, as he found it, of artistic life in Quebec and Ontario, and his comments about how distinct it was from what he had seen in the United States.

These are the things that we must encourage - this must be a major aim in Canada if we are to maintain our country as we know it and as we want it, distinct from the influence of our neighbours to the south.

I think that the vitality of Expo and our Centennial celebrations has shot across the world and many visitors who came to see Canada now have some idea of the fact that there is in the northern part of North America a country which is vitally different from the United States.

This brings us back to the regional differences and traditions of our country, in terms of a Canadian identity which we need to counteract the cultural intrusion. I think it would be fair to say that the cultural infiltration from the United States is just as important in this country as is the economic infiltration. We feel that it must be one of our aims in this country to develop a means of either coping with or resisting it. This is where the great diversity of our Canada becomes, in our opinion, very important.

I was very interested, Premier Manning, in your remarks about your agreement and your pride in the fact that all newcomers are not immediately assimilated in a melting-pot. We think that this is one of the great characteristics of Canada. We have two societies: one English-speaking and one French-speaking. The French-speaking society associates one language and one culture. The English-speaking society in Canada certainly is multi-cultural. I think we all recognize this as Ontario's contribution at Expo on Ontario Day, we had examples of all the many, many cultures that are flourishing in Ontario. We put them on display on Ontario Day frankly to illustrate this very characteristic of our province. This is the wealth and diversity that we have culturally in Canada and this is part of our Canadian identity as I see it. I would just set out one goal that

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we must have in Canada: the preservation and the continuous development of this Canadian identity which will thrive on and benefit from and grow greater through the diversity that is Canada.

So we must place a very high priority on our national goals. We must never forget our competitive situation and realize that we have to be a little more competitive than others. We must encourage diversity. We must encourage technical and economic efficiency. We must encourage this proud identity that I mentioned. Grouped together, this is one of the goals, as we see it in Ontario.

I might say just before I turn the floor over to someone else, what we excluded from the agenda was fiscal matters but not economic matters. I was interested this morning to hear of the problem set out in terms of economics and I think we realize that not all areas of the country are necessarily equally involved in each one of these particular phases.

We in Ontario seem to get a little bit involved in all of them at one time or another. Certainly there is no limitation in the agenda, as we developed it, on any discussion of the economic situation across Canada. I think this is a little different from some of our fiscal discussions when we are really talking about sums of money, either in the form of taxation or equalization payments and things of that nature.

This is Ontario's point of view on what we consider to be one of the very fundamental goals and aims of our country and to which our efforts should all be bent as we have these discussions.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Talking about the future of Canada in the Confederation of tomorrow, one of the things that worries me is the geographical distribution of the people of Canada. Now the whole population is about 20 million at the moment, about equal to that of California. I do not know the size of California, but I do not think that it is as big as Ontario nor as big as Quebec, but I suppose it is bigger than British Columbia. It is a big place, all right. So in California - a third of Ontario, a third of British Columbia and a third of Quebec - live 20 million people, equal to the population of Canada at the moment - 20 million.

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These 20 million are divided, spread out in the second biggest land mass of our world. Only Russia is bigger - or is it China? One or the other. Russia is bigger and we are number two on the earth. We occupy about one-quarter of the earth - 25 per cent, and we have 20 million people.

If these 20 million people were all in Ontario - which, God forbid - but if they were, they would make us about equal to California, but bigger, and the rest of Canada would be empty; but they are not, they are spread out over 4 million or 5 million square miles, is it? It is an immense volume of land.

Is there a sort of unspoken feeling of impatience in the big centre of Canada with the sparsely-populated parts of Canada, a sort of unspoken feeling? Well, if they are fools enough to live in those less attractive and those far-off parts of Canada, let them take the consequences!

Now there is one way of speaking that would sort of justify all the people, nearly all the people, or all of the people from nearly all of the four Atlantic provinces - moving out. Well maybe the other people resent that, so I say Newfoundland, just my province. There might be a case for all the half-million of us just to move out. Well over half a million of us have moved out. We are living now in Ontario and Quebec, and right across to B.C. and in the Maritimes; there are over a half a million of us, in round figures, living in the other nine provinces. And there could be an argument, that instead of trying to make life more liveable in Newfoundland, and to make Newfoundland more habitable, you know, with economic opportunities, schools, hospitals, roads and all the rest, wouldn't it be more economical and sounder for Canada in the years coming, the Canada of the future, to have a shrinking of Canada, physically, with its population.

Although when you stop to think of that, no one is going to suggest that the people of B.C., the million of them or one-and-a-half million, whatever it is, vacate and come across the Rockies. No one is going to suggest that. I doubt if anyone would suggest that Alberta be vacated, or Saskatchewan or Manitoba. In fact it would boil down to these four Atlantic provinces or maybe one of them.

Is there a sort of unspoken impatience in Canada in the corridors of power, banking power, financial power, industrial power, political power, a sort of unspoken feeling that, or a sort of impatience with the beefing and growling and complaining that would come from the less-developed parts of Canada? Or will there be a frank, quite frank recognition that the



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whole economy of Canada as a whole must have as a charge upon it the creation, and the maintenance of a standard of living in a province such as Newfoundland. I don't want to be offensive to the other delegates, they might take offence. But in my own heart I think, say, of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and P.E.I., although Nova Scotia is miles ahead of us. Nova Scotia is as far ahead of Newfoundland as say Ontario is ahead of Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia is about half way in economic development. I don't think they can be too proud. They helped to make Confederation one hundred years ago. And I don't think that things have happened so marvellously in Nova Scotia that they can afford to look down their noses at Newfoundland. I don't think they can. I don't think they are that much better off. So lump the four of them; lump the four of them together, these four provinces.

Hasn't Canada got to make up her mind that the one-and-a-half million people who live in these four provinces - two million is it? - two million people, who are Canadians, shall have, and ought to have, and deserve to have - for no better reason than that they are Canadian - for no better reason than that, deserve to have an expanding, a growing opportunity to grow, to expand, and to improve?

Take a youngster, take a baby born in some little Newfoundland outport, or if you like a little farming section of P.E.I., or a logging section of New Brunswick; a Canadian baby is born. Does that baby have at birth the same prospects for a good Canadian life, a good Canadian kind of life, as does a baby born in many other parts of Canada that could be mentioned? And if not, why not? If not, is it to be the policy of Canada in the next dozen and in the next hundred years: this is too bad, this is regrettable, we don't exactly defend it, but it can't be helped and really you know, really, between ourselves, (we would like them to hear that down there in those four provinces) but really if they do insist on living down there after all, how can they expect to have the sort of thing that we have in Upper Canada or Alberta or Manitoba or Saskatchewan or British Columbia?

Hasn't there got to be some kind of a setting? Now remember this, remember this, in these same four provinces you have a big part of Canada's wealth. You have overwhelmingly the biggest part of her iron ore, haven't you, in that part of Canada, an immense part of Canada's wealth in the form of iron ore. Premier Johnson is looking quizzically at me and he agrees completely. He said that he would add that they have some iron ore as well just across the border. And we have the same glob of Canadian earth, the four provinces; we have immense timber, a big portion of Canada's timber wealth; minerals of other kinds, base metals, possibly oil, possibly. If there is oil off-shore in Canada, the bulk of it, perhaps, is going to be

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found within a rifle shot or two of (laughter) I didn't mean anything by it. But if there is oil off-shore, Canadian oil, leaving out the type whether it is federal or provincial, it is Canadian. If there is oil off the Canadian shore, it is off the Atlantic provinces shore in the main. There may be a lot off Quebec but you will find the great bulk of it - this is what the oil people think. So, oil and minerals, base metals, probably uranium, very probably, timber, and, of course, fish. A huge portion of Canada's wealth is in those four provinces, a huge portion.

Now, what are you going to do - I mean Canada - what is Canada going to do? Is Canada going to treat these in effect, you know, with apologies and with some patching here and there? Is Canada going to treat that huge part of this country as just a source of raw material? In other words, are we going to be a colony of Canada, an economic colony? Is it to be a species of Canadian colonialism? Colonialism has become a little bit unrespected in the world. But are we to have a Canadian colonialism down there?

Now, there are many matters that Canada will have to test, you know, in the Confederation of tomorrow. Isn't this one of them? What is to be the attitude and the policy and the philosophy of Canada, as Canada, to those parts of Canada which for historic reasons, for a variety of reasons, have not yet reached the degree of economic development which you find in other parts.

What used to be the policy towards this? They gave the Atlantic Development Board - created it. They were given a hundred million dollars. A hundred million. For four provinces. A hundred million.

Someone said in the House of Commons once, what is it. What's a hundred million dollars in five years amongst one and a half million people in four provinces? Is that Canada's best?

Hon. Mr. Smith:

Two million.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Two million. Two million people. I'll remember that next time. I won't do away with that half million.

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(Hon. Mr. Smallwood)

A hundred million dollars. Now we are four provinces, four out of the ten and we get a hundred million dollars out of Ottawa and no doubt they very sincerely think this is pretty good. A hundred million. It will take to develop Churchill Falls, one project, it will take eight hundred million dollars. The upper Churchill, the upper. It will take another five hundred million to develop the lower Churchill. It will take - it will cost Premier Johnson three hundred million or four hundred million to build a transmission line to bring the power down into Quebec. It will cost us a couple of hundred million to build another transmission line down into Newfoundland.

Now we are talking about eight and five and three and two hundred million for one big economic project. But Ottawa delivers a hundred million dollars in five years to the Atlantic Development Board and this is Canada - remember Ottawa in this regard is Canada - and Canada's contribution to the upbuilding of four of her ten provinces economically is a hundred million dollars.

Now they are on the second hundred million; I think we have exhausted the first hundred million and they are a few millions into the second hundred million.

Probably -

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Committed but not paid.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

No, but it's sort of earmarked. All right, now one of the first, leading and most vexed problems of the cutting back would be the Atlantic Development Board. They won't be told, "No, you are not going to get it", but they will be delayed, it will be procrastinated, there will be reasons and there will be delays and we won't get it.

I suggest seriously this is sheer selfishness on my part. This is Atlantic provinces' selfishness. But I do suggest seriously and selfishly



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that if you are going to think of Canada's growth and progress you cannot leave out these four provinces and that you ought very seriously in coming to any kind of conclusion about the shape of the Canada to come, Confederation of tomorrow, a complete reversal, a complete change and I see Premier Frost looking up and I remember his kindness towards Newfoundland in the Dominion-provincial conferences; he many a time put in a nice word and we got a few dollars more. But this was peanuts. It was. It was picayune. It was not the bold and imaginative action of nation-building.

Unless - now unless you think you are a nation-builder when you build Canada beginning with Quebec and ending with British Columbia and ignore these other four provinces. Nation-building in Canada must include these four and it has not done so.

I suggest to you seriously that the development of these four must form part of the great Canadian dream over the next five, ten or a dozen years.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

We have always accepted the fact that to be a Canadian must have meaning. This meaning must be the same regardless of where you live in Canada or what part of Canada you come from. In actual practice it is not always possible to produce exact equality, of course, but as a basic principle of Canadianism - and I am speaking of my own province - we recognize that we are only part of a whole and we are completely dependent upon the other provincial governments as well as the federal government of Canada for our existence and for whatever degree of prosperity we enjoy. We accept completely our responsibility to share in the totality of Canada because what we may have is not all ours. Nor does it come purely from our efforts in this province. This is the attitude Ontario has taken over the years. Certainly it is the attitude we think must govern the overall plans of Canada in the future.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

I was certainly deeply impressed with the remarks of my colleague, Premier Smallwood of Newfoundland, I always am.



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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

I was interested in your remarks as well, your original remarks, when you stated that there were places in the wealthy Province of Ontario where there still exists poverty, but I think we can safely state that in your province there are only pockets of poverty and an enormous amount of wealth, while in our area there are scattered, very scattered pockets of wealth and a terrific amount of poverty.

Now this is a Canadian problem, we believe. I think it's a world-wide problem and throughout the world certain agencies such as the Marshall Plan or the Truman Plan, UNESCO and the Alliance for Progress, the Colombo Plan and other plans have emerged which will help the underdeveloped areas of the world. This was a requirement if we want the world to survive and if we want to face the Communistic world.

I believe that the same concept applies in Canada. It certainly did within our own Province of New Brunswick. As Premier Smallwood was stating, a baby who is born in a certain area definitely has not the same opportunity as one who is born only five miles from there. That applies to our province and I have statistics here to prove that point.

The problem existed in New Brunswick; I think it always, practically always, existed in Canada. I believe that we should follow the world pattern and establish an agency to administer what we might call the Canadian Plan, (patterned after the Colombo Plan), an agency that would ultimately achieve for everyone in Canada an equal opportunity for education, for hospitalization and for welfare, for justice before the courts of our land, etc. And in the Atlantic provinces, as was so well pointed out by Premier Smallwood, we do not have that same opportunity.

I was deeply interested in your statement, Premier Robarts, a moment ago when you said that the resources presently belonging to Ontario also belong to Canada as a whole. We believe in that concept, and the resources that belong to New Brunswick should belong as well to Canada as a whole. But we have to drain our taxpayers to a degree much higher than yours in order to provide the services that are demanded from us. This has been true for all governments, successive governments, of New Brunswick.

Our goal - we are talking about goals - our goal in the Atlantic area is to reach a standard of living which would not necessarily be high, but which should at least approach the national average.

I think we are entitled to that, as Canadian citizens. We are Canadian citizens, as you said, to the same extent as any other Canadians.

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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

Our per capita income in the Atlantic provinces is much less than the last national average. If there were an agency, call it what you want, that would make sure that we can develop our natural resources almost as rapidly as is being done in certain other parts of Canada, you would make us happy.

I should say that there are incentives for residents of the Atlantic area to remain where we are, although we lose quite a lot of them. You lose some from Ontario to the United States. Well, we lose ours to the Province of Quebec and to Ontario, and many of them to the United States. But despite that, there are incentives to stay home and I should say that those incentives are based primarily on the beauty of our Atlantic area; our shore, the scenery in our area; the romance of the Maritime provinces. Some are less romantic, though, and we lose them!

If our per capita income is so much less than the national average, isn't that a national problem? Isn't that a national calamity?

We have base metals in our area, in New Brunswick and Newfoundland. In order to find a company to come home and develop these, we had to guarantee, as a province, a province of six hundred and twenty-five thousand people, we had to guarantee that company a loan of \$40 million.

Now that is a terrific amount of money for a province of our size, but it was essential. Unless we had guaranteed that amount of money, we could not have the base metals developed, as we have them right now. We have in excess of a thousand people working there.

So we had to invest, because it is almost an investment (to guarantee a loan is practically an investment), we had to invest \$40 million to - well to make sure that a thousand, perhaps in excess of a thousand jobs, year-round jobs, would be created.

That is a problem that does not exist in Ontario, because you have other incentives to develop your resources. When I say Ontario, I wouldn't want anybody to believe for one moment that I am picking on Ontario. That happens in the other wealthier provinces of Canada, in Alberta and in British Columbia. You don't have to invest any taxpayers' money in order to have an inflow of capital in your province to develop your resources. It is being done automatically. The companies are desirous of going into your provinces.

I had quite an experience last night. I went to church. I always do this! But in order to go to church, I had to take a taxi, and the taxi

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driver recognized me. But he took me for the Premier of Nova Scotia. There is a lot of confusion in central Canada about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. A lot of people think that the eastern boundary of Canada is Montreal, or certain parts of the Province of Quebec. But in any event, this taxi driver told me, in his innocence, he said, "Gosh", he said, "in the Atlantic provinces, you have taken away one of our industries", referring to Clairtone, that went to Nova Scotia. He said, "that is terrible, that was in Ontario and you offered so much incentive to that company that they moved away from Toronto to the Atlantic area".

He was not being too critical about it. But Nova Scotia had to do what it did, in order to get that company. We had to do likewise to get other companies to develop our resources. But I don't think it is fair for us. I think that the federal government, or a combination of all of us here, should put our resources together and not force one particular area of our taxpayers to make much heavier sacrifices than have to be made in some other area.

I think I have expressed my views. The goal should be, with respect to economics, the goal should be a standard of living in all areas of Canada that is acceptable to our people, without having to over-tax a certain area of Canada to provide equivalent services.

Perhaps I should express all of this in French, but I believe I have been understood across the table.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

If I may get it off my chest right away, with all due respect to our colleague from Newfoundland, and tell him that although I agree in principle with many of his affirmations, I still feel that I should correct some of his statistics. When I hear him say that most of the timber is in the Maritime provinces and I think of the 244,000 square miles of timber in Quebec alone which is a larger area than the total area of the four provinces, I cannot go along with him. When it comes to iron ore I don't know how many tons he has in mind, but not taking into account our share of Labrador, just on the Quebec side of the disputed frontier, I have had figures given to me lately from very authoritative sources: 4.5 billion tons of open-pit iron ore, which might be a total weight of all four of the Atlantic provinces. If we had to mine that much there wouldn't be anything left, anyway of some of the provinces. But, setting those little



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remarks aside, I do agree with the fundamental principles. Well, you know that translators are sometimes traitors (this remark does not apply to any of our present translators), so in order to make sure that I, at least, understand what I'm saying, I will revert to my mother tongue and tell you how fully I agree with one of the primary goals of what should be the uniting principle of Canadians - that is equality of opportunity, access to equal services.

First, within our territory, the equality of all citizens is one of the governing principles of our policy. Within Quebec, this principle applies to health, education, employment opportunities, in short to all those things which, taken together, constitute the standard of living, and is also reflected in a fairly recent policy of cultural decentralization to nourish the mind as well. And within our own territory - I am thinking especially of the eastern part, beyond say, Quebec City - we have just about the same problems as the Maritime provinces. The only area in Quebec where, according to demographic projections, the population figure not only has decreased but will continue to decrease in the near future, is that of the Lower St. Lawrence and the Gaspé Peninsula. And we are now conducting an experiment, for it is only an experiment, by implementing the plan which is better known in Quebec by the initials B.A.E.Q. - Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec (Eastern Quebec Planning Bureau). And I should say right now, to its credit, that the federal government is co-operating, or at least that it has made an extremely interesting start in that direction with ARDA, although we have not yet received the benefits of FRED - the other federal plan.

So, we have within our territory some obvious disparities. And, as the Prime Minister of Ontario pointed out, we even have some crying social inequalities in areas that are classified as prosperous, such as the Montreal area. The brilliantly lighted buildings of Montreal or Toronto can be deceptive; one must go down into the streets in certain Montreal districts - I am speaking of a city I know well - to realize that children born on certain streets in Montreal have even less opportunity than those born in fishing hamlets in Newfoundland or in lumbering communities in New Brunswick.

Consequently, there is a problem within the provinces, both in their depressed areas and in those which are generally considered prosperous; because we have adopted the faulty and, in my opinion, rather disquieting habit of always speaking of averages. True, the average income of certain parts of the province is high, but within that same Montreal area and within the limits of certain smaller Quebec cities - I refer to those with populations of twenty-five, fifty or sixty thousand - there are inequalities.

We have therefore attempted, at the provincial level, to establish equality of opportunity. Through hospital insurance - I shall not go into the merits of this system, the authority which introduced it, whether it was



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applied too quickly or not quickly enough, with or without adequate preparation, these are not the points under discussion - we had a measure of equality of opportunity for all citizens as to hospital care, provided of course we have the necessary facilities.

But when the time came to negotiate the wages of hospital employees, the present government made sure, at the negotiation table with the unions, that wage parity would be applied throughout the province for nurses as well as all other employees, thereby affording citizens in economically underprivileged parts of Quebec a reasonable chance of receiving the same quality of care.

We acted on the same principle in dealing with the teachers. In a Bill which has since become famous as No. 25, we imposed for a limited period a salary scale based on this principle of equality, so that teachers could be recruited in each and every section of the province and so that the exodus towards larger centres where pay was better would not prevent us from ensuring equality in our territory.

We fully agree with those who want to establish equality of opportunity throughout Canada. And we based our stand on this principle when we requested control over old age security, stating that for once Quebec would put in more than she gets out of the old age security fund. We did not request that all Quebec contributions to this fund be paid to us, but only the amount due to us under present federal legislation; in other words, for once we were to give instead of receive, and we were happy to do so. This is an attitude which we took publicly in the Legislative Assembly more than six months ago.

Our views on equality of opportunity throughout the country can be found on page 22 of the French, page 20 of the English version of our preliminary statement. I take the liberty of quoting this passage:

Further, in order to ensure the right of each citizen to comparable services, wherever he may live in Canada, the mechanisms of fiscal arrangements should be improved and, if necessary, institutionalized.

This shows how seriously we are committed to this principle, and this is another area where, while being culturally different, we can agree with our colleagues from all provinces; Quebec, which benefits considerably, and temporarily I hope, from equalization, would be happy and proud to contribute to a system which would equalize opportunity throughout the length and breadth of Canada.

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I do not intend to take much more time. I am submitting comments on various points suggested in the Conference agenda and I would like to talk for a few moments on the linguistic and cultural heritage, and to emphasize two points as clearly as possible from the outset. Our nationalism, speaking of French-speaking Quebecers in general, is not biological but cultural, and it is becoming increasingly so. There was a recent incident where a group of Jewish people held a meeting in Montreal at which discussions took place in English. At one point, a participant stood up and asked would someone kindly translate into French what had just been said in English.

I was informed that we now have in Montreal 3,000 French-speaking Jews who have recently arrived in our province. Culturally, we want them with us, they are welcome additions to the French community, which they strengthen without contributing any biological element - if our nationalism were racist, I myself could not play the game or be elected Prime Minister of my province with the name I bear and my well-known mixed origins.

Secondly, we do not believe that because there are in Canada people of various origins, from twenty-five, thirty or thirty-five different countries, if certain privileges are granted to one of these cultures, they should also be granted to the members of all other cultural communities. We have no objection to seeing immigrants to Quebec keep their customs, their traditions - on the contrary. We encourage them, and we shall encourage them still more, to develop their own culture. But one fact stands out clearly: at a given moment in their existence, either right in the first generation or in the second, these immigrants integrate into either the French-speaking or the English-speaking cultural group. And you will realize of course (but it is worth repeating for the benefit of our unseen audience) Quebec has historical in addition to factual reasons for acting as she does. Suppose we put aside the whole historical argument. I do not attach undue importance to the question: Is Confederation a pact or is it not? We can discuss this for weeks and months but, as the Premier of Alberta said, we have to live with the facts. We have more than one and a half million young Quebecers, of all languages and nationalities, in school; more than 75% of them get their education in French. If they agree to get their education in French, and if this becomes an economic handicap for Quebecers of the French language and culture, there is the real danger to Canada's continued existence. It is the responsibility of the Quebec Government, whatever it may be, to take necessary steps so that anyone who has received his education in the French language at the expense of taxpayers in general, of provincial taxpayers, should not, when he arrives on the already restricted labour market, be economically handicapped because he speaks French. Great strides have been made in recent times. But in my youth, in a small town right next to my constituency, forty out of forty executive positions were held by English-speaking Canadians. And our people showed great forbearance in enduring this situation so long. I repeat, great strides have been made in the last thirty years or so and the situation has

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improved considerably, say, during the past decade. Therefore, we do not despair; but we should not have to wait too long until our people, who have historical, not legalistic, reasons to be attached to their language and culture, are able to feel at home outside Quebec. In short, without blaming any administration or attributing particular responsibility to any political system, it was the federal government and the other provinces which made Quebec into a kind of "ghetto" for the French language and caused the French to be pushed or held back inside our boundaries. As I mentioned this morning, Ontario, Manitoba through recent legislation, and other provinces such as New Brunswick have made considerable efforts which lead us to believe that a French-speaking Canadian residing in Quebec will eventually feel that he can move to another province in order to climb the executive ladder in big companies, without being forced to bring his children into a community where he will not be able to continue their education in French; and the same, of course, in the armed forces. We therefore have special and specific reasons to plead that French cannot be considered just another language, one of the languages of people who do not speak English. To bring home the truth of what I just said, we need merely assume the situation in reverse; suppose all Canada were French-speaking except one province, say Ontario, where the English-speaking population was concentrated, and that the United States were entirely French-speaking, as it might very well have been - the fact that it is not is attributable to an historical accident or the fortunes of war. Of course, none of the premiers here nor any participant in this Conference had anything to do with that. Still, if all North America was French with the exception of one English-speaking province, we would be very much surprised if that province did not take the same attitude that Quebec is taking today through her Prime Minister and delegation. I am naturally wondering whether this English-speaking province would not have separated before now, bearing in mind the protest filed by Nova Scotia during the first interprovincial conference, called by the Liberal Prime Minister Mercier in Quebec City in 1887.

Therefore, you will understand that, by imagining the shoe on the other foot, French-speaking Canadians - through the only voice which can speak for them, that of the Prime Minister of Quebec - refute certain statements, certain interpretations. You will also understand that we are living and facing an unusual challenge. There are some among you or among the population in general who consider it foolhardy for us to insist on leading our lives in French. But whether we like it or not, it is a blunt fact that the overwhelming majority of French-speaking Canadians in Quebec are determined not only to speak French at home but to live fully in French, and they only hope they will be able to do this within Canada and to contribute their part to her greatness. And to disclose my innermost thoughts, I believe in all simplicity but with the deepest conviction, that the future of Canada in twenty, thirty, fifty and, even more so, five hundred years,



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could be magnificent if we would only use this extraordinary potential, which is unique in the world, of representing two great cultures. The English-speaking element can communicate with three, four, five hundred million people in the world's English-language cultural community and through the French culture with more than one hundred and fifty million French-speaking people in twenty-five or thirty other countries. It seems to me this is a worthy challenge. It has been said there is no need to change the Constitution. Mr. Chairman, you are to be congratulated on your initiative in opening this Conference to all communication media. It is time Canadians shed the fear of writing a new constitution. Forty-five countries have done so since the end of the last war. In each instance, their constitution was enacted in the name of their people. Some of these countries were federations, federated states whose constitutions were enacted in the name of the people.

It seems to me - I hope I am not an optimist who has lost touch with reality - it seems to me that our Canadian youth of English and French cultures could rewrite this Constitution together. This would perhaps be our first true common undertaking. There is nothing like common endeavour to unite people you want to unite, provided of course, as I have often said and written, you first divide what should be divided, otherwise there is danger of accomplishing nothing at all or of breaking up everything you are trying to unite.

In any case, Quebec agrees on the main objectives, provided that within the constitution, agreements or plans to be implemented, she may retain the necessary control over all matters affecting her social and cultural life.

I apologize for taking so long, Mr. Chairman, but I felt that it was necessary to make our position clear and to give you the Quebec viewpoint in complete frankness.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

At six o'clock this evening, the Government of Ontario will play host to the delegates and the observers in the dining-room. I will look forward to seeing you then.



TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1967

MORNING SESSION

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Gentlemen, we will resume discussion of the rather broad subject that we were dealing with yesterday afternoon, "The Goals of Canadians".

Hon. Mr. Campbell:

Yesterday, a good deal of the time of this Conference was given to a consideration of the economic ills of the Atlantic provinces. These were very clearly pointed out by the Premiers of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and very graphically described and drawn by the Premier of Newfoundland, and perhaps set in national perspective by the spokesman for the British Columbia delegation who related it to the national per capita income. I hardly think that it would be necessary for me today to go into any greater detail because I feel that the economic problems of the Atlantic provinces speak for themselves.

I think that it is quite clear that the expectations and the fondest hopes of the Maritime Fathers of Confederation have not been realized during the first century of our Confederation. But there is perhaps a context in which the economic problems of the Maritime provinces can be found when we are discussing the goals of Confederation.

Yesterday we heard the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario state that one of the goals to which we Canadians ought to aspire is the more effective creation of a Canadian identity.

When we are trying to put our efforts into such things as improving the quality of life and establishing a Canadian identity, we cannot lose sight of the fact that while some Canadians may be faced with the difficult decision of whether this year they may buy the second car, or yacht, or build a summer cottage, there are many Canadians who are still trying to get their plumbing indoors.

One of our cultural problems stems from our economic circumstances in the Province of Prince Edward Island. We are still trying to build schools. We have some 400 schools, many of which are 100 years old or more. Seventeen per cent of our population is descended from Acadian stock, and yet instruction in the French language is given to less than two per cent of our Acadian school population. I make no apology to the Acadians or to this Conference for the fact that so few Acadian school children receive their instruction in French, because this has been one of the unfortunate facts of our economic circumstances in Prince Edward Island. The fact is

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that the educational facilities and the quality of the education which we have been able to give have left all our students at a great disadvantage compared to Canadians elsewhere.

Our concern, however, at this Conference is not restricted nor limited exclusively to the economics of the situation. I suppose it might be said that man does not live by bread alone, and we confidently believe that our economic salvation will come with the strengthening of national unity and from a strong central government. These views were set out in the Prince Edward Island brief at the beginning of this Conference.

This then, perhaps, is the goal to which Prince Edward Islanders will aspire - in doing those things which will encourage national unity and in supporting those efforts which will assist in the strengthening of the national and fiscal position of the federal government in Canada, and we feel sincerely that national unity and strength of our federal government go hand in hand.

During this Centennial year, Prince Edward Islanders have had the opportunity of getting to know Canada a great deal better than was the case a year ago. To see Canada we look westward and when we look westward, there is a great deal of land between the eastern Ontario border and our boundaries, and there we see the Province of Quebec. During these last few years and perhaps particularly during Centennial year, we have not been encouraged with what we have seen happening. We have not been encouraged with the expressions of dissatisfaction which we hear from many of the people who live in the Province of Quebec, and we begin to ask the question, "Where is this leading us as a country?"

I hardly believe that this is a time when Canadians can afford to be indifferent about the developments that are taking place within the boundaries of the Province of Quebec. Nor do I think this is a time when we can afford the luxury of a closed door policy - since we have been describing various policies at this Conference.

I ask this question: "Does not the future of our country warrant our giving more serious consideration to the views of the people of Quebec, as have been expressed by its Prime Minister at this Conference?"

Need we fear a new look at the Constitution? Perhaps it might be logical for the spokesman of the "cradle" of Confederation to regard the Constitution as sacred, but I think that we have to be realistic enough to admit that the circumstances of today warrant an acknowledgement that times have changed, technologies have changed, circumstances have changed and perhaps, as well, our Constitution should change.

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I have been disturbed by the reaction of the press to our deliberations yesterday and that reaction was summed up in one headline which indicated the indifference of the provinces to the views which have been expressed here by the Prime Minister of Quebec. Somehow apparently this feeling of indifference has been generally applied to all of the provinces.

The brief of Prince Edward Island was a short one, but I should like to refer to two sentences in it. On page 1:

"If, as a first step toward unity we need a new Constitution, then we should seriously examine that possibility," and a sentence later: "We should consider a basic statement of faith between our founding races."

I would hope that these statements would not be interpreted tomorrow as statements of "indifference" to the position and to the viewpoints given to this Conference by the Province of Quebec.

I feel compelled at this stage to suggest to the exponents of the doctrine of "variety" - not only to them, but to the millions of new and welcome Canadians, to the quarter million Italians in the city of Toronto and to the many ethnic groups in Canada - that our Confederation involves the determined and the dedicated efforts of two races, those being French and English, to build one country and to build one nation. Can we afford to be indifferent to the views of one of those parties to our 1867 Confederation pact?

Perhaps we should examine more carefully the brief of the Province of Quebec. The preliminary statement provides greater detail than the opening statement of the Prime Minister.

I know that it will not be possible for us, in these particular circumstances, to fully debate each of the seven or eight points that I have picked out of the preliminary statement. But I also believe that perhaps these points should be spelled out and perhaps we should ask the Province of Quebec, ask its spokesman in some way during this Conference, to give us further information and further explanations so that we may more fully understand their particular points of view.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like to refer to these points: on page 6 of the preliminary statement in the first paragraph: "Up to a point this community" - referring to the English community - "will have to alter its traditional approach to relations between our two linguistic groups." And we ask the Quebec delegation: "What is expected of the English-speaking Canadian, and what will the English-speaking community have to alter?"



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On page 9, with respect to foreign policy, in the central paragraph: "nowhere is the matter of foreign policy spelled out in our Constitution". But how would Quebec define the matters relating to foreign policy in a new constitution? Is their suggestion one in which Quebec would have diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic agreements with foreign governments without any involvement at all with the federal government? Or does this proposal merely refer to cultural exchanges as set out on page 13 of this brief?

On page 14, the reference to the Estates-General urges me to question it. The statement is: "Besides, the Government of Quebec will have to weigh the implications of positions taken by the Estates-General of French Canada." I think we should ask the question: "What status does the Quebec government accord the recent resolutions of this body, and what implications do these resolutions have as far as the Canadian premiers are concerned?" I am sorry, that is on page 14, the bottom part of the second paragraph.

On page 16, under the heading of "Distribution of powers" there is the paragraph dealing with residual powers. "We believe that, as is the case in most other federations, provinces or member states of Canada must retain all powers not expressly granted to the central government." Of course, we would have to reserve judgment at this time on this statement, but perhaps we should be talking about it.

Yesterday, the question was asked: "How are we to amend our Constitution?" This wasn't asked by the Province of Quebec but surely we are old enough and wise enough and smart enough to devise a way of amending our own Constitution.

On page 17, the Prime Minister of Quebec advocates, for purposes of economic development, that they have full power to build into the Constitution "the forging of any economic and financial tool deemed necessary" for their economic development. Is this incompatible with retaining sufficient strength for the national government to serve all Canadians? And would there be sufficient base for national programs which mean much for many Canadians, especially those residents of the poorer provinces?

Then, monetary policies are mentioned on page 19, and I quote: "Thus, even though the federal government has jurisdiction over currency, it must always reckon with the fact that monetary policy has concrete repercussions on other governments' action." And would, I ask, the monetary policy as envisaged by Quebec leave the federal government with sufficient control for the national good?



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Then, on page 20, with respect to fiscal arrangements, in the second paragraph, and I quote: "Further, in order to ensure the right of each citizen to comparable services, wherever he may live in Canada, the mechanisms of fiscal arrangements should be improved and, if necessary, institutionalized." I think it is a fair question for us to ask here, what improvements the Province of Quebec may have to suggest in this regard.

And then finally, on page 21 - and this, of course, does not enumerate all the questions that come from the preliminary statement but certainly many of the pertinent ones - on page 21 is advocated the establishment or the creation of "a genuine constitutional tribunal whose composition would reflect the federal character of our institutions and the Canadian cultural duality". And how, we ask, would such a court relate to the Supreme Court of Canada, for example?

In the next paragraph, the suggestion is made for the "transforming of the current Senate into a true federal House, having a bicultural character". And how, we ask, would the Province of Quebec propose to change the Senate to the role as a protector of the bicultural character of the country?

Mr. Chairman, I think that these questions are well asked and fairly asked. And I think that we will want to find ways and means of discussing these questions and the implications of their answers, as offered by the Province of Quebec, in some way during this Conference or any further subsequent meeting. I don't suggest that these can be asked and answered in this particular environment but it may be possible, now having asked these questions, to use another room in this building around a table and get down to specifics. Because I suggest we are aware of a problem which is not of the making of the Government of the Province of Quebec; but it is a problem which they bring to this Conference and to the nation as a whole. And I believe that we must sincerely endeavour to understand this problem and do what we can to resolve it. Thank you.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Thank you, Mr. Campbell. I should like to make one brief comment. There are places in the agenda where some of these matters will naturally be touched upon as we proceed through the arrangements we have made in our very loose agenda. I can see in the headings under the third session, under the fourth session, and perhaps the fifth session, that there are places where some of these matters you mention, Mr. Campbell, will come up for discussion.

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Hon. Mr. Smith:

Mr. Chairman, Nova Scotia would like to endorse the view put forward by you yesterday that a major goal of Canadians should be to seek Canadian identity. And, very briefly, I would like to try to relate that to the discussions which have gone on since first we met yesterday.

To us, that goal carries with it necessary implications that the Canada of tomorrow must be one in which all Canadians are content to live; one in which all Canadians find the opportunity to develop a full and a satisfactory life; one in which there is a real spirit of unity; and one in which the people of all regions and diversities believe their needs and aspirations at least receive fair and reasonable attention.

It seems to us that the discussions of yesterday make it clear that there are at least two major problems which must be dealt with if that kind of Canada is to be achieved, if the goal of Canadian identity, in the sense you used it yesterday, is to be reached. One relates to culture and language; the other relates to regional development. Let me deal perhaps with regional development first.

It seems to me that this falls into two parts, first the provision of a minimum standard of public services available to Canadians wherever they may live, and second, economic development.

The provision of the minimum standard of the public services can be achieved through equalization payments and other means of directing national revenues towards regional needs.

It seems to us that no region can really feel content to look forward indefinitely to dependence on this kind of transfer payment. We believe that each region, to feel real satisfaction in being Canadian, wants to be able to envisage the time when its development will enable it to look after these needs itself.

Therefore we believe that to reach the goal of a Canadian identity, we need a well formulated and effective national policy for regional development.

We recognize that this will cost money, but so has the economic development of Canada as we see it today cost money. For most of our hundred years, Canadians everywhere have paid a price for industrial development.

How many manufacturing developments would have taken place, for instance, without the cost to Canadians brought about as the result of a protective tariff? And if Canadians had not through the years paid more for their automobiles, for instance, would there now be an automobile industry in Canada?

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This policy of encouraging development has resulted in Canada becoming a major industrial nation, and that has been good for all of Canada, every region of Canada, and we believe the price that Canadians have paid for it has been well worth while indeed.

But it has been better for some parts of Canada than for others, and we believe it is now time to make some improvements to that policy, which will help to bring to all the regions of the country something at least of the kind of development which has taken place in others.

I should now like to turn to the problem of language and culture and the aspirations of French-speaking Canadians.

In this area we have been asked to consider sitting down together to write a new constitution and the Premier of Prince Edward Island has just made some very specific references to that question.

And Nova Scotia feels that it is a reasonable request, to sit down together, to see if we can write a new constitution, to give effect to the needs and the aspirations of our people.

Now it is true that many of us looking at the question merely from our own points of view do not feel any great need for a new constitution to meet our requirements. But that, I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, is by no means the end of the matter, for we all want to preserve and improve Canada, and if developing a new constitution will help to do that, then surely it is worth trying.

Some of us may even have a real attachment for the present Constitution, but have we not even a greater attachment for Canada? And which would we rather do - risk losing Canada, or make an effort to find a constitution which will give us a better hope of keeping Canada?

Now anything to do with changing the Constitution we know from experience will be a difficult task. What has happened over the last few years in trying to bring to this country our Constitution ought to emphasize that for us, as I am sure it does.

But surely because it is difficult is no reason for not trying. And surely if there is a mutual determination to find a solution to this problem, one can be found.

Someone said yesterday that facts are stubborn things and will not go away just because you don't like them; and we think that is true and we think that two of the facts of Canadian life are that several million Canadians are thoroughly unhappy because of slow regional development, and

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more millions are thoroughly unhappy because of what they regard as serious defects in our Constitution and institutions.

It seems to us then that unless some really effective means of dealing with these causes of unhappiness is at least attempted in a serious way, it seems to us unless we can do that, it may be difficult to expect these millions of people to be enthused about a Canadian identity.

And yet we believe with you, Sir, that we must seek for a Canadian identity in a sense in which you used the words yesterday.

We believe that goal is a good one. We believe it can be attained, if all of us really want to.

But I think we will need to do something effective to deal with these two problems, of language and culture, and of regional disparity and it seems to me that with the goodwill evidenced around this table, it should be possible to make a real start toward this goal.

Thank you.

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

Mr. Prime Minister, the discussion this morning is on the philosophical plane, and I appreciate the worth of that consideration which has been advanced.

A number of questions of particularity have been directed toward the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec and these are interesting questions.

For my part, I don't think that it was the purpose of the Conference for one region, or one province, to cross-examine the other, in terms of its brief or position and I don't propose to do so in any of the remarks I make.

Because in examining a question as broad as the Confederation of tomorrow, which we are invited to consider, it is difficult enough to indicate goals without indicating at the same time; means by which they may be reached.

And I go back to my good friend, the Prime Minister of Newfoundland, in his consideration of the realities of our national life today, because I think that there is one thing contributing toward the frustration which



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Canadians may feel in many quarters of the country concerning the achievements of our nation.

It arises from the fact that we have been indicating national goals; and sometimes in indicating national goals we have never taken the public fully into our confidence as to our capacities to reach these very fine objectives within any specific length of time.

We speak of a Canadian identity. I never found it very difficult to identify a Canadian, either at home or abroad, and especially abroad, because Canadians very quickly find out what they have in common, when they look at themselves from the vantage point of foreign soil.

And I think Canadians, while we are not strong enough to be feared in the world, nor rich enough to be envied, are nevertheless completely identifiable; and even if we don't fit all into one mould, the extent to which we differ is a contribution of means of identification which I don't think we really ought to be too concerned about.

We have had a number of public preoccupations, so far as the concern for our country may be defined, over a number of years and I hope our memories are not so short that we fail to remember that the great national indoor sport until very recently was examining the Canadian inferiority complex. This was something which writers would write about at the drop of a hat when there wasn't anything more particularly demanding of their attention. In my experience if there was anything which distinguished a Canadian, it was his insufferable sense of superiority when he viewed the rest of the world, no sense of inferiority.

And I don't think we really are justified in posing questions about national identity as though this did not exist in fact. It does. But what does not exist in fact is a realization of Canadian capacity to do things in Canada.

I spoke yesterday in complete sympathy, and I hope with some understanding, of the regional disparities which have held back the Maritimes and have left Quebec - to speak of two economic regions in the country - in varying but substantial degrees below the national average of attainment so far as questions of income in this nation are concerned; and these remain root facts in our country which the Prime Minister of Nova Scotia was well advised to suggest we ought to identify and tackle.

But in tackling them I think we ought to go one step further; having defined our internal inequalities, to tell the Canadian people in what particular sense we are not cutting the mustard in comparison with economies which are very close to us. I think we have to use the same measures of

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comparison again; take a look at per capita incomes, and I am sure it will be a shock to Canadians to be told that in realizing these continental attainments which we all seek, we have less per capita capacity to do so than the 50th State of the American Union, which happens to be Arkansas.

That is the measure of our per capita income and a measure of the cash flow available to governments in this country for the purpose of taxation either at the municipal, provincial or national level. Now obviously there are ---

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

You mean above Arkansas there are forty-nine states?

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

With a per capita income greater than the national average of Canada.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

We are talking constitutions.

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

And we are talking constitutions, sir; that's my point.

Now I don't say the constitutions aren't delightful, and on behalf of the legal profession of Canada I hope we do a great deal with constitutions, because we may not always be in politics forever.

But the fact remains, we owe it to the Canadian people to tell them precisely what our attainment so far has been.

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Now I want to put a great big footnote at this time, Mr. Prime Minister, to say that the measure of our per capita income is no measure of the amenities and the state of life in our nation. I spoke in this vein recently in my province, and pointed out that, in terms of our experience, a man making five or ten thousand dollars in Vancouver is infinitely better off than the man making five or ten thousand dollars in some of the larger communities of the United States, because it is a different type of life and not necessarily a desirable type of life, when compared with the things which we take casually and for granted in our weekends and so on.

So per capita income isn't a measure of the Canadian state of satisfaction; but it is a measure of the Canadian capacity to do things.

Now the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce put out a news letter just recently, a commercial letter, in July and August of 1967, and it reviewed in the structure and performance of the economy, the nature of our annual capacity to improve ourselves; and we find the gross national product at market price year by year in the last decade going up 1.3%, 1.2%, 3.5%, 2.4%, and only recently in the latter stages of the '60's are we getting up to 5.1%, 6.4%, 6.9% and 5.9%.

In other words, we have only recently and sporadically, in the state of our economy, reached the capacity of generation, one year over the other, of total national product which would give us some domestic capacity to do something with ourselves.

Now I think you cannot stress too highly the desirability of our addressing ourselves to economic questions at this time. I am not suggesting, for example, that we copy the procedures or the philosophies or anything else of any other country, but I do point out that one of the countries which is showing industrial pace in the world today, namely Japan, has had an average increase in real G.N.P. over the last fifteen years of 10% a year. The Japanese by their own boot-straps, dedication and sweat are transforming their economy from something quite unsatisfactory in world terms to something in terms of world leadership.

All I say is, that if we are going to realize all these goals which we must define with some precision, particularly the goals of uplifting the economy of the Maritimes and particularly the goal of assuring the people of Quebec economic opportunity in the country, at least to meet the national average - although I think they will do much better once they get under way - but if we aren't going to define these goals, and make comparisons between ourselves and somebody else as to what is possible, then I suggest we are not being frank with the public, and, particularly, we are not indicating to the public in terms of taxation and public policy how we propose to pay for some of the things which are occupying national attention elsewhere at this time.

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So I make a plea for a pork-chop consideration of the national economy at this time, and I suggest that if in the midst of our philosophical examination and scrutiny of things which might be different or better, we ignore the means, the concrete means of achieving them, then we will have spent only half our time to good purpose at this meeting or at future meetings which are held under these auspices.

Now I hope I haven't diverted attention from our high-flown notions, Mr. Prime Minister, but I do suggest that we have a duality of purpose here which must be observed.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Mr. Prime Minister, I wonder if I might say one or two things which are bothering me.

We are talking about a new constitution for Canada, and we are talking about the new constitution; and the only reason put forth yet at this Conference for having a new constitution, the only reason, is to give Quebec something that Quebec is alleged to want. There is no other reason produced; no other reason hinted at; no other reason suggested for a new constitution; merely this, that if Quebec is to be happy, to get the things that she wants and must have to be happy, we have got to write a new constitution.

I would like to see some other reasons for writing a new constitution in Canada, and I would like to be shown that the things that Quebec wants, that all Canada agrees Quebec ought to have, can be got without a new constitution and can be got by some relatively simple or even no changes at all in the Constitution.

Now what does Quebec want? Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long. Quebec apparently wants linguistic and cultural rights. Do you have to have a new constitution for Canada so that Quebec shall have linguistic and cultural rights?

Now if Quebec were to become another country, an associate state, or to be given some very special status or to become - well, if she were to become independent - she wouldn't be interested in Canada's Constitution, obviously. But where is the consensus in Canada; where is the consensus in this Conference of ten premiers that Quebec shall have anything that all other provinces haven't got, anything perhaps other than linguistic rights? Because cultural rights - we have all got cultural rights, haven't we?



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All the provinces have cultural rights. Is Quebec to have any more cultural rights than any other province? Linguistic rights, yes.

Now when you have exhausted that, when you have said that, you begin talking about the economy; you talk about tariffs; you talk about banking; you talk about finance; you talk about industry; you talk about foreign affairs; you talk about the army and the navy and the air force; you talk about foreign treaties.

All of these surely are not asked by one of the ten provinces. Is one province of Canada to have rights of that kind, any rights whatsoever of that kind, that the other ten do not have, or any one of the remaining nine don't have?

If Quebec is to have rights of that kind that other provinces are not to have, then you have got to write a new constitution; but then you wouldn't have Canada, would you?

Now second to having said that, may I say this: the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference - you, Premier Robarts, thought of this idea of a conference for ten premiers. I made a note of your opening statement - somebody has - my notes have disappeared from the desk - but you said "this meeting of co-equal entities." Do you remember that?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Yes, I do.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

"This meeting of co-equal entities" - ten provinces, ten Canadian provinces - "co-equal". You might say that some are more equal than others - but, ten "co-equal" provinces.

If they are to remain ten "co-equal" provinces, what do you want a new constitution for? You might amend, you might change or strengthen the existing Constitution, but unless you are going to create another Canada, surely you do not need a new constitution.

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The other point I want to make is this: the future of Canada surely does not consist only of settling this Quebec question - does it? Is this the one item on the agenda of Canada's future - not only of this Conference, but of Canada? Is this the only problem in Canada now, to make assurance doubly assured that Quebec shall have linguistic rights and cultural rights? Are there no other problems facing Canada? Settle that and Canada's future is assured? Is that true? I do not think so.

We still have this problem of a Canadian baby born in Labrador, or New Quebec, or northern Saskatchewan, or in one of those parts of Ontario that you told us about yesterday, Mr. Robarts. A Canadian baby is born somewhere. Is that Canadian baby equal with all other Canadian babies in an opportunity to get and to have good health? Is that baby going to have equal opportunity with all other Canadian babies to have a good education? To have decent roads to ride on? Decent homes to live in? Adequate food?

Surely these are more important matters to the 20 million Canadians, whatever language they speak and within whatever provincial boundaries they live. For the 20 million Canadians, surely the question of the standard of living, physical living, the standard of public services, private living and public services, surely these are the important matters for Canada's future.

I said here yesterday and I repeat that I will go along with any discussion you want to have about constitutional change - I will go along with it, or I will go home, one or the other - I intend at every point, while I remain here, to keep reminding us all of something we all know - without exception here, we all know that what really matters in Canada is a standard of private living and a standard of public services, and both of them can only come from the development of Canada's resources, the economic foundations of Canada.

Surely, this is what we ought to be discussing. We could commission half a dozen college professors or half a dozen lawyers or even more smartly, hire one lawyer or one professor and say, "Write a constitution. Rewrite it." If you tell them what that constitution is to reflect, what it is to reflect - have you decided what is to be reflected, what a constitution of Canada shall reflect? Has that decision been made? What is the Canada that the new constitution is to reflect? What is that Canada?

Is it the kind of Canada that must have a new constitution? Is it suggested by Mr. Johnson that we will not have a federal state? That Canada will cease to be a federal state? Is that suggested? Is it suggested that there should be more or fewer than the ten provinces we have now? Will there be the same number in the new constitution? Will there be "co-equal entities" - to use your phrase, Mr. Robarts, which I welcomed in my own

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heart so warmly, because I love feeling equal with Ontario - and I am sure Mr. Campbell here, sitting right next and between Quebec and Ontario feels that at last Prince Edward Island has been as equal as the rest of us.

Are there to be nine provinces of one kind, and one of another kind - or is that one not really to be a province at all? Are there to be nine provinces and one other entity? Nine co-equal entities meeting in conference and then two other entities - the Government of Canada and the Government of Quebec?

Is this what the new constitution would reflect? It is easy to write the constitution - I have written a half dozen myself but they were for trade unions and co-op societies, and I have read a lot of constitutions of a lot of countries and parts of countries. The writing of a constitution is really no great task, it is not beyond the wit of man - but what may be beyond the wit of Canadians is to decide what that constitution shall reflect.

These are some of the questions Mr. Campbell has asked. He is not afraid to tackle the question of a new constitution, but he would like to know in advance - as I am sure all of us would like to know - what is going to go into that constitution. It is not enough to mention headings, or the headings mentioned in this entrancing preliminary statement of Quebec. Headings - you know, trade unions, defence, transportation, banking, tariff - sure, reel off a list of headings but what is to be said about those headings in that constitution?

Before we can reasonably be expected to agree that there shall be an attempt made to write a new constitution, before we can be reasonably expected to agree to that in advance, sight unseen, surely we deserve to be told precisely what it is proposed to put into a new constitution before we agree even to discuss the question of whether or not there should be a new constitution.

I, for one, am absolutely opposed not only to a new constitution for Canada, but to any change whatsoever in the existing Constitution. I will oppose it flatly if either a new constitution, or changes in the existing one, means when the dust dies down that there are nine provinces and one something else and an Ottawa which has been emasculated.

If Canada is to be a nation and if Canada is to deserve the respect of the world, she has got to be a strong nation and a strong nation is not made up by a Balkans. A strong Ottawa, a strong Parliament of Canada - the Parliament. There is only one Parliament of Canada. Let that be a great Parliament, not something that is sort of also-ran - not if you are going to have a great Canada.

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Mr. Johnson, I have good reason to respect you and to have great affection for you. No man has ever treated me more decently and in a more civilized fashion than you have; and I have great affection for the people of Quebec. I think that without the people of Quebec, Canada would be a poor thing indeed. An awful lot of colour would go out of the life of Canada without Quebec.

But we have to settle this question: is Quebec one of the ten provinces with special rights in language and culture; and I don't even say special rights in culture, but special rights in language. I think it is an absolutely intolerable thing - I put it to myself and I asked how I would feel if my children came to live in Quebec, or my grandchildren, and found that the only way they could get an education was to go to a school where only French was spoken, I would feel that life was hardly worth living.

That is why in Labrador, in my province, we have the only school in Canada today that I know of where the teachers are all bilingual and the students are all bilingual and the lessons are taught alternately in French and English. We have that in Labrador. The only thoroughly bilingual school in all Canada.

Now, if you press me too hard and ask me do I think that the Dutch and the Italians and the Spaniards and the other peoples of the world who have come to Canada have the same rights, that their children too shall be taught in their native languages, their ancestral language, I am stuck. I don't know the answer to that. The same justice would seem to indicate it. I suppose the answer to that in turn would be that they weren't in on the original formation of Confederation. I avoid the word "pact" and I avoid the word "compact", but at least there was a Confederation originally, and one of the units forming it was Quebec, and Quebec had its own language and its own culture and its own a lot of things; and for a hundred years they have lived within this Confederation and they are not too happy. God knows any decent Canadian wants six million Canadians living in Quebec to be happy, at least not to be made unhappy by artificial things that would militate against them.

But, can we go any further than that? Can we? And if we do, are we going to spend the rest of this Conference - I ask you, Mr. Chairman - are we going to spend the rest of the Conference just immersed in the problem of Quebec, important as the problem is?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

In answer to your question I would say that the basic concept of the Conference, when set down, was to have an expression of views and not



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to arrive at any decisions. I think the views of the various provinces and regions of Canada are being very clearly and explicitly set out here. From my own point of view, as one member of the Conference, I have been very interested indeed in the discussion of the economic future of Confederation, which is just as much a part of the future of Confederation in this country as is the constitutional change.

I very much appreciated Mr. Smith's remarks when he pointed out that there are two areas of discussion, in this first day and a half, and that neither one of these is predominant over the other.

I think we are achieving our objective, in that we are getting a very frank opinion from the leaders of the provinces as to what they feel their priorities in the future of Canada to be.

The purpose of this Conference, I would like to reiterate, is to give everyone an opportunity to put these points of view exactly. We do not propose to reach any decision. I would think that some of the questions asked might be treated as rhetorical for the purposes of this Conference unless anyone wanted to specifically answer them. I make this point clear - and perhaps I am free to make these comments due to the fact that we sponsored this Conference - because I don't want to lose sight of the limited goals that we set ourselves in coming here for this discussion.

I don't think we are necessarily to sit here for the remainder of this Conference to discuss what may or may not be wanted by the Province of Quebec. Certainly there is a wide range of other items on the agenda dealing with what has been done by various provinces and ideas provinces will have as to what might be done in the future.

I can only repeat that I think it is a measure of the success of the Conference that we have been able to bring in ideas other than just constitutional change, because the Confederation of tomorrow is going to be composed, gentlemen, of a great deal more than the bare bones of the Constitution. We must never forget it.

I think we have all said in one form or another that Canada is made up of people. We must name our objectives for the next one hundred years in terms of individual people.

I hope, Sir, that that constitutes an answer to the question.

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Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, I would like to associate myself with the opening remarks of the Premier of Prince Edward Island, in which he emphasized that it was a grave injustice to this Conference and to all participating in it for anyone to give the impression that because very real concern has been expressed regarding economic and financial aspects of the Canadian nation, that this indicates any lack of concern or interest in the cultural and linguistic and constitutional aspect of the problem before us.

I stress this because undoubtedly that impression has been given. The newspaper reports from the Conference yesterday stressed it. This, in my view, is grossly unfair to everyone sitting around the conference table and to Canada as a nation.

The point I am making, and you referred to this in your comments a moment ago, is the importance of recognizing the very close inter-relationship between these two aspects of an important national problem.

Mr. Johnson set forth yesterday the concern shared by himself and his people in Quebec regarding the importance of the cultural and language and constitutional issues which are placing tensions on Canadian Confederation.

Others set forth in equally explicit terms the very real impact of economic inequality and the financial and economic problems that must be faced - the great economic discrepancy between different areas of Canada, and the bearing this has on the Confederation of tomorrow.

My plea is that we avoid setting either of these over against the other, but rather that we recognize that they are inter-related in the context of Canadian nationhood as we enter our second century.

I agree fully with what Mr. Bonner expressed this morning, and Mr. Smallwood, that no matter what may be done about constitutional amendments or debates with respect to cultural and language issues, if we permit this nation to move into its second century with glaring discrepancies, economically and financially, and in standards of living between one part of the nation and the other, these other matters ultimately will become little more than academic exercises, because the down-to-earth, day-to-day concern of men and women first is related to the economic issues.

It is equally true that no matter what steps may be taken to correct the economic and financial discrepancies in Canada, that if we permit unresolved dissatisfactions in the cultural, linguistic, and constitutional fields, these likewise can undermine Canadian nationhood, to the point that the economic and financial adjustments which may be made will become meaningless in a Confederation subjected to too severe strains from this other direction.

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Let us give these two issues an equal status in the total context of Canadian nationhood. As to which one is the most important, and which one must be resolved first, I honestly feel this is very little different from the age-old argument of whether the chicken or the egg came first. You have two integral things, and which came first, or which has to be resolved first, is academic, if we accept the premise that they both need to be resolved if we are going to enter our second century with the kind of Confederation of tomorrow we all as Canadians desire.

May I make this additional point: the discussions which took place yesterday, and some of those this morning, have put a great deal of emphasis on what has been referred to as the equalization of opportunity and standard of living for Canadian people. I have presented my view that this is of full, equal importance with the other more abstract issue of culture and language. But I submit that the term equalization, which is a very popular term, must be used with some caution, because there are so many factors that enter into what constitutes equality. It would be accepted without question, for example, that Canadian citizens living in the great metropolis of Toronto, or Montreal, have an opportunity to enjoy various social amenities that are not available in other parts of Canada. In that sense, there is not equality and there never will be equality.

This problem is one that we need to approach in two stages. There are three major areas in which there is general agreement that greater equalization is required; I refer to the fields of education, health, and basic living standards.

Surely these are the fields in which we first ought to try to remove the discrepancies which exist today. But this step, as was rightly stressed by several, should not be an end in itself, because unless Canada can further regional economic development to a degree that makes it more possible for local areas to meet these problems at the local level, there is always going to be this feeling that some provinces are so-called "have-not" and some provinces are "have" provinces, which terms I think are most unfortunate and which I would like to see forgotten.

The second point is that our approach to the cultural and the language issues, and also to the economic and financial aspects, will be influenced by what we set for ourselves, as our desired national goal, in our second century of nationhood.

It is my belief that Canadians have not yet made a firm decision as to what kind of society we want in our second century. There are many discussions of generalities, but I have never seen these reduced to a clear-cut, positive, national purpose and objective, that can command the enthusiasm and response of the Canadian people as a whole.



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(Hon. Mr. Manning)

We have to decide, whether in our Confederation of tomorrow, our emphasis should be on Canadian society, collectively, or whether the emphasis should be on the twenty million individuals who make up our Canadian society.

If we are going to think of Canada entirely from a collectivist approach, then our planning as governments, even some of the things that we feel might be dealt with in our Constitution, will be influenced by that decision. In other words, our planning will be geared to how we can develop in Canada what in our neighbouring nation is called "a great society", which, I submit, is a term that puts the emphasis on society "collectively", rather than on the individuals who make up that society.

On the other hand, if the focal point of our concern is the maximum opportunity for maximum development of each individual Canadian who makes up our twenty million people, then our emphasis and our planning obviously will be fundamentally different. If our goal is a society of "great Canadians", we will put the emphasis on creating conditions that afford the maximum opportunity for individual people to develop. If our emphasis is on a great society, then we will give little consideration to the individual but concentrate on what is going to be best for society collectively.

It is my firm conviction that we will make our greatest progress in our second century of Confederation, and develop to our greatest degree, if we put the emphasis on helping the individual, and creating economic and social and cultural conditions that will encourage individuals, and afford individuals the maximum opportunity for the greatest development of their own aspirations and talents and ideals.

I come back to the very real relationship between this approach and the cultural and language problem, which Mr. Johnson expressed as being the greatest and deepest concern of Quebec. If our emphasis is on creating conditions that afford the maximum encouragement and opportunity for the development of individual Canadians, surely this creates the best possible circumstances in which to resolve these cultural and language issues. Because, surely, matters such as culture and language rightly come in the category of individual prerogatives and rights.

It is only when we try to project these issues into the arena of national constitutional rights, rather than retaining them in the fields of individual rights and individual prerogatives, that we get into the areas of conflict and our difficulties increase.

I stress once more the close link between the financial and economic aspects of our problem and the cultural and language aspects.



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(Hon. Mr. Manning)

I submit that if, as our national goal, we strive for conditions in Canada, economic and social, that will afford the individual the greatest possible latitude for self development, then the individual's language and culture, whether alone or in association with others of the same language, becomes something that can grow and flourish in that arena, without being subjected to the controversies which inevitably arise when you try to transfer to the national arena such matters as constitutional rights.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

Let me say in English, that I am not surprised to have questions put to me. I am amazed that there have not been more. Having made a preliminary statement, I could expect to be questioned on many of the paragraphs, and I welcome this opportunity of answering some of them, but I must - and I shall do it in my mother tongue - make certain points of a general nature, because I feel that at this moment we could be going off on the wrong track.

First, we all know this Conference was called specifically to talk about the Constitution, but nobody expects that by proclaiming a new constitution we would settle all problems. Second, I do not think it would be reasonable to assume that Quebec is not interested in economic or fiscal problems; if delegates should want to turn this Conference into a discussion of fiscal arrangements and economic problems, I would have no objection, but first I would want to speak on two proposals. It seems clear, according to those who have spoken before me, particularly the representatives of British Columbia and Newfoundland, that our Constitution has proved a failure from the standpoint of economic development. If the Constitution was to be concerned with economic problems alone, we should perhaps follow the suggestion brought forth by the delegate from British Columbia and let ourselves be annexed by the United States in order to ensure an average standard of living a little higher than that of Arkansas, which would then have the lower living standard. However, if it is merely an economic question, what does Canada mean, what does the identity of Canada stand for? Right from the beginning of Confederation, some have complained - especially Nova Scotia - and rightly so, that it was defying the natural laws of economics to try to build a country on an east-west axis, when the real economic forces moved north and south. But the decision was taken anyway, despite objections led by Nova Scotia, and I am using this example because Mr. Howe and the Nova Scotia Legislature were particularly vociferous at that time. In fact, they crystallized the resistance to establishment of an east-west oriented country because their trade was carried on in a north-south direction and their primary interest was in exports, since Nova Scotia was then the third, or perhaps the fourth, largest country in terms of merchant marine.

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(Hon. Mr. Johnson)

That was in 1867. Now, at that time, what was done? An east-west country was established and a maximum of autonomy provided for each of the provinces. As I already stated while discussing the Fulton-Favreau formula, and with all due respect to those attending as observers, I consider that it granted too much decentralization to the rest of Canada and not enough to Quebec. After a hundred years, it appears clearly from the words of the Premier of Newfoundland, who is otherwise very likeable and easy to get along with when it comes to economics, that it is a failure from the standpoint of equal opportunity. Is this failure due only to omissions, ambiguities or the general inadequacy of the Canadian Constitution? I do not think so. The United States complain about unequal opportunity throughout their territory and have set in operation a huge program to fight poverty. England has these problems, so does France, and in the same area: fair distribution of services to all their citizens, wherever they may live in their respective territory; but I say this - and in my opinion this is the basic problem, the real justification for this Conference - after one hundred years, anyone with eyes to see must realize that, for nearly 30% of the population, the present Constitution and the way in which it has been applied by the federal government and by provinces other than Quebec has resulted in complete negation of equal status - I am speaking not from the economic viewpoint, but purely from the standpoint of human dignity and those things which distinguish man from beast, that is, the intellect and culture - it has led to inequality of opportunity and status for 30% of the population. I said this yesterday, but it seems necessary to repeat it: through the actions of federal authorities and the other provinces in response to prevailing opinion - I do not propose to judge the reasons, but the result is obvious to an observer with any knowledge of how the present Constitution works - it is abundantly clear that this Constitution and its application have, for all practical purposes, driven the French fact back into the Quebec enclave. This is the hard truth. Unless we are helped to get rid of the "ghetto" complex we have been given, whatever the reason for it, I assure you that no statement by any politician, no joint statement, no pious intention, not even prayer will have the slightest influence on the course which events will take, and that course is particularly well traced and apparent today.

Our only purpose in coming here is to endeavour to show the rest of Canada that we want to remain Canadians, that we want to co-operate with the other provinces, but that the French-speaking people of Quebec and perhaps of part of the other provinces, on behalf of whom I am not entitled to speak - I only observe the facts - demand that there be a minimum of conditions or structures, at least in provinces immediately adjacent to Quebec, and gradually in the whole of Canada, which would allow Francophones to feel at home outside the Province of Quebec. Of course, some take a numerical approach to this problem, but if the law of numbers is the only valid criterion, how can we justify equal footing for Prince Edward Island with its 102,000 people and three other Maritime provinces which, together with

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Prince Edward Island, do not equal the total population of Quebec? We could add the entire populations of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, plus almost all Alberta citizens. On the other hand, there are English-speaking people in Quebec who have a right to be there, who are Quebecers with strong attachments to Quebec; these people are proud of the French style of life and want to have an increasing share in it; since Expo, they have become aware that two cultures living side by side in co-operation are a priceless asset. We have more English-speaking citizens than the total population of any Maritime province or Manitoba, almost as many as the total population of Saskatchewan, and we intend to respect more than just their chances for economic equality. Owing to historical circumstances, they need state assistance much less, as a rule, than do French-speaking Quebecers. As we said in the preliminary statement, we intend to respect their rights, just as we intend to give them, as we have always done, more than their bare entitlements under the present Constitution. There is no use shedding tears over events of the past one hundred years, nor is there any point in awarding marks for good or bad conduct to this or that provincial or federal government of the past. Let us simply discuss things as they are. We want to state very clearly at this Conference that even if Quebec were to separate - this is something over which I have no control, but which I shall attempt to oppose not by words but by trying to make sure that Quebecers feel a little more at home outside Quebec - even separated, I am convinced that, in a world of modern communications, Quebec could become an extremely interesting international centre and, in order to fulfil this role, she will continue to respect the rights of those whose language is not French.

We are not seeking more linguistic and cultural rights for Quebec, as the Premier of Newfoundland seems to imply. We have these rights, so this is not the problem. What we do want is economic progress and social progress; but, at the same time, we no longer want to leave social progress exclusively in the hands of the federal government; we want to work in conjunction with the federal government, whatever its political stripe. Careful examination of certain parts of our statement will reveal that we insist, as we did in September 1966 at the Federal-Provincial Conference, on institutionalization of the means of planning and co-ordination. There is in Canada a shameful waste of public funds, owing to the lack of co-operative planning and co-ordinated action. The cost of our race to outbid one another is paid by the taxpayer and one reason our progress is slow, inasmuch as it is as slow as described by the representative of British Columbia, is precisely that we have had too many centres of decision acting independently, without co-ordination and very often for purely electoral motives; some thought they could get elected more easily by promising health insurance for instance, while still not sure of having the means to implement it or, if it were to be implemented, this would be done by first treading on people's toes, then by imposing new taxes on certain categories of taxpayers who would not have or would no longer have the means to pay. For political ends, some have in the past - and here I return to the economic aspect which can properly be discussed at this



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Conference while adhering to the agenda - some in the past, whatever their governments, have decided to launch programs for purely electoral purposes, without any planning of priorities or even the slightest consultation with the provincial authorities who, constitutionally, had jurisdiction in the field. We simply received announcements of programs. If they were not implemented, their benefits would be lost; our provincial taxpayers would pay their share without collecting any benefits under these schemes. They were taxed without taking into account local priorities, and under a principle which I have often denounced. The idea was to tax everyone, even those with no means to pay, in order to distribute money or services to everyone, even to those who did not need them; and if, as was claimed by two participants in this morning's discussion, we have no reason to boast about our economic situation, if and to the extent we are in such a mess, it is partly attributable to the Constitution, but especially to the way the Constitution has been applied.

How could a new Constitution settle the problem from the economic standpoint? I shall try to answer my friend from Newfoundland right away. Well, as far as I am concerned, I am not satisfied that in order to obtain funds which the province needs for provincial purposes, purposes for which the provinces are clearly more competent to spend them efficiently, I am not satisfied that I should spend my time requesting rights, asking for rights. I would like to see incorporated in a constitution a system which would be constitutional and which, as I imply in the preliminary statement, would give the provinces the right to be consulted and to share in decisions which affect all Canadians, thereby ending as much as possible the constant tug-of-war between the federal government and the provinces or, very often, between several provinces.

In short, if we want to put things in order, even from the economic viewpoint, it is extremely important in my opinion that we have the opportunity to write a new constitution. Now, provision of equal status for 30% of Canadians seems to me a valid goal and a sufficient reason for redrafting the Constitution in whole or in part.

Gentlemen, I apologize for taking so much time, but it is obvious that Quebec must reply, since the real impression left this morning was that this Conference was called merely to hear the lamentations of Quebec and try to find an aspirin to stop the headache. Believe me, there are other things in Canada which do not work properly, and even if we did not have a French culture, I would still be here pleading for some order to be put in our Constitution, for some principles to be established, for equal opportunity to be proclaimed for all Canadians, wherever they may live, and for machinery to be set up to prevent political leaders with the lion's share of tax resources and control over monetary policy from shaking up our provincial governments without consulting the people concerned. Otherwise, what is the purpose of having provincial governments, what would be the purpose of having provincial governments, if they always have to bow to another authority?



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(Hon. Mr. Johnson)

As far as I am concerned, even if Quebec were 100% English-speaking, even in a unitary country - this is hypothetical because I am not in one - if I were inclined to favour a provincial government, and I am, I would want one with a little self-respect, one which would not be reduced to submitting requests, but which could exercise certain rights, which would be required to exercise them. I repeat, we want co-operation with other provincial governments and the federal government, but in an institutionalized way, not dependent on the whims of the federal or another provincial government, not conducted in hotel rooms using constitutional gimmickry in order to obtain provincial aid for this or that party in winning the next election. This is what we must put an end to; this is what the people expect of us and I am very happy to have this opportunity of telling the whole of Canada.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Gentlemen, we have had a long and very interesting discussion about the goals of Canada in the second century.

As I said in introducing this subject, it was in the beginning a somewhat nebulous topic, but I think the discussion which has revolved around it will be very fruitful and very helpful. We have been able to clarify some of the basic goals and opinions that we have in different parts of the country.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1967

AFTERNOON SESSION

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

May I extend a very warm welcome to the Hon. Walter Weir, newly elected Premier of the Province of Manitoba. Welcome to our deliberations.

Hon. W. C. Weir (Premier of Manitoba):

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Our warmest congratulations upon your success.

Gentlemen, Mr. Robichaud has asked that we revert to what we were dealing with before lunch. He has asked to address the Conference prior to the time that we get into the theme of the third session, which is the role of the English and French languages in Canada.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that you have stated yourself at the outset that there would be a flexibility to the agenda, and looking into the agenda, it seems that the items are so inter-connected that it is possible for any-one of the delegates to go from one item to another without any breach of the sequence in the agenda.

I would like to follow your remarks in welcoming the new Premier of Manitoba at this Conference. Mr. Weir, I know, will be a very business-like successor to our old friend, Duff Roblin, and we welcome you, Mr. Weir, here.

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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

I would like to say how impressed I have been with your spirit, Mr. Chairman, as a great Canadian. I believe that. I think you are a great Canadian, willing to make sacrifices so that Canada may remain together.

You have displayed that over the years. I have told you so, and other people have told you so. Your own electors have told you so, and if you lived in my province, I feel convinced that you could be elected as premier of the province.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

High praise indeed, Monsieur.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

No matter what your political affiliations.

I would like to say the same thing about Premier Johnson. I heard him this morning and I was impressed, more than impressed, by the statements that he made. I think he, himself, showed that he was a real Canadian, that he wanted to remain in our Canadian context, in our Canadian Confederation, despite certain problems that he has to face in his province. And if we, at this Conference, are too shy to recognize these problems, then it is possible that this Conference will be a failure. I don't think it will, because I think we are men enough to recognize the peculiar problems that exist in the Province of Quebec today and in certain parts of French Canada.

We have talked so far about the Constitution, about a new constitution, about amendments to the Constitution, or a modification of the Constitution. We have talked also about economic problems, and these are a force primordial. And we have talked about the relationship between French and English in this country.

It seems to me, and to many of us, that we must recognize the problems that Premier Johnson has to face in his own province. It was my feeling this morning, when I heard him, that he was putting his head on the block, when he spoke the language which he did - when he stated emphatically,

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"I am a Canadian and I want to remain a Canadian", while so many of the people in his province feel differently; while culturally speaking, a foreign country wants to take over the Province of Quebec and feels that it could be done.

I am going to be blunt. I don't mind being blunt, when the need arises. I have the Toronto Telegram of today, Tuesday's edition: "De Gaulle's remarks a blow to Johnson. Cabinet meets to draft answer. A chill for Quebec." And there is the Prime Minister of Quebec right there.

And I have the Toronto Daily Star: "Free Quebec. That is the issue. De Gaulle."

And I have The Globe and Mail: "De Gaulle calls for Quebec to be transformed into a sovereign state".

And again, here is the Prime Minister of Quebec, who has to resist all of this, and who stated this morning (and I believe him, I believe in his sincerity), he stated that he wants to remain a Canadian, he wants his province to remain part of Canada.

I have L' Evangéline, from New Brunswick. It is in French:

Independence, a good or a bad thing? How is it that Quebec pulls the whole blanket on its side at the Estates-General of French Canada? This fact is no doubt due to the great majority of delegates from la belle province; it is no doubt also due to the increasingly separatist options which are coming to light in Quebec and which are being expressed with more vigour from week to week, but in France, the important point is to know what the minorities in New Brunswick will become. In New Brunswick, there is no doubt that the French-speaking community will suffer the repercussions of a unilateral or bilateral declaration of separation.

The threat of France, willing to annex or to take over the Province of Quebec. There is also the threat of Quebecers willing to become an independent country, an independent culture, with tariffs and everything connected with it.

I believe strongly that the Premier of Quebec is trying, is making a very honest effort in counteracting the efforts made to take over the Province of Quebec, or to become independent, but we must not leave him alone.



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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

There are forces working in the Province of Quebec and elsewhere - separatist forces - and these separatist forces are not confined to the Province of Quebec. They exist elsewhere.

A lot of people would say "les maudits francais," or the "damned Frenchmen." It happens that a lot of people say as well, "les maudits anglais." But this is something that we are here to correct. If we deny the rights of the Province of Quebec, I believe that we will make way for a separation that is not desirable from an economic point of view or from any other point of view.

It was stated yesterday and this morning that there are other cultures in this country. Of course there are; there may be thirty-two of them, but I think that we should agree that there were two forces that got this country together - the economic forces, and then the English and French forces at the time of Confederation. We could easily have become Americans. We could have joined the states of the Union easily if it had been an economic point of view that was basic at the time, but it was not. We preferred at the time to remain Canadians, to join initially our four provinces together - one English, one French-speaking and the others primarily English-speaking. I think we must continue to accept that concept.

There are other nationalities that came to Canada following that, and we can name the Ukrainians, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Poles and all the others. When they came to Canada following Confederation, following 1867, they (I believe), accepted the concept of a bilingual country, a country where French-speaking people are welcome and are at home in any part of Canada.

I do not believe that Mr. Johnson had any unreasonable request to make this morning, when he simply asked that the French Canadians in this country should have their rights as well as the English-speaking people have.

I wonder what would happen to 40 per cent of the people of my province if Quebec should separate from Canada - and I am speaking from a cultural point of view. I think that perhaps Ontario has the same problem and Manitoba, to a certain degree, has the same problem. I wonder what would happen to these minorities. The threat is there. We have seen over the weekend an association meeting in Montreal called the Estates-General. Now I do not know exactly who they are. I do not think that they are representatives of Premier Johnson or of the people of Quebec. But they are a force to be reckoned with, and we must prevent the conclusions of their convention becoming a reality, which is the separation of Quebec from the rest of the country. I am speaking from a cultural point of view now.

Coming back to an economic point of view, what would happen to the Atlantic provinces and what would happen to the rest of Canada if Quebec separated from the rest of the country?

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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

There is a threat there. Until six or maybe eight months ago, I never believed that this could ever become a reality, that this was only a threat and that nobody - nobody would support such a movement, except the extremists.

I believe that there is a possibility, unless we get together, unless we can understand the problem of the Province of Quebec, of Quebecers, there is a danger that they might separate from the rest of the country. I think we would all deplore that fact for various reasons.

I think the rest of Canada, from British Columbia to Newfoundland, should recognize that there is a problem here, there is not only the cultural problem but there is the economic problem; and I was hurt the last few days, I was hurt with the conclusions of the Estates-General that met in Quebec. I was hurt when I read the news that France wanted Quebec to separate.

I think Premier Johnson is much more capable of speaking for himself than anything I can say or do for him. I think he can exercise leadership in preventing such a thing happening, provided we co-operate with him, provided we give him the tools.

I think Canada should be a mother to all provinces. I don't want to romantic at this stage - as the term romantic was used on various occasions during the Conference - but it seems to me that Canada and this Conference could make it possible for Mr. Johnson to eradicate the forces of separatism in this country.

Some may say that I have had some collusion with Mr. Johnson. I haven't. It is just that I was impressed almost to tears when I heard him this morning defending his own positions, which positions are fair, are honest, are reasonable, are even flexible, because I think he is a flexible man.

Canada as a whole can be the mother of the ten provinces. There is a poem written many years ago - I don't know if I will be able to quote it - by Victor Hugo, and I want to illustrate the point by quoting this poem. Canada can be the mother of the ten provinces. It went like this:

O, l'amour d'une mere  
Amour que nul n'oublie,  
Pain merveilleux qu'un Dieu  
Partage et multiplie.  
Table toujours servi au paternel foyer.  
Chacun en a sa part  
Et tous l'ont tout entier.

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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

"Each has his part of it, and all have it whole." Well, Canada is able to do this to the ten provinces of Canada, to Quebec, to New Brunswick, to Nova Scotia, to British Columbia and to the rest of Canada. This is what we wish. I admire the heroism, I admire the Canadianism of all premiers, but I particularly admire the Canadianism of Premier John Robarts and the Canadianism of Premier Daniel Johnson, no matter what their political affiliation.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Thank you very much, Mr. Robichaud. I am certain that we all agree whole-heartedly with the comments you have made concerning Mr. Johnson and the undoubtedly very difficult problems he faces, and in particular the help that we, the other provinces, are able to give to him in his endeavours.

Perhaps, we can proceed to the third session and the topic -  
"The Role of the English and French languages in Canada."

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

May I make a remark here before you proceed with the other item. I was asked six or seven questions this morning, and I would not like anybody to think that I have any intention of leaving them unanswered. I wouldn't want to disappoint Mr. Campbell and I would want to go on record as having given at least a partial and, I hope, satisfactory answer to very appropriate questions put this morning by Mr. Campbell, which I will do as the Conference proceeds; unless you ask me to put them in writing.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

In dealing with this first subject from the point of view of Ontario, I am going to confine my remarks at this stage to the matter of the educational processes in this province. This matter has been touched upon several times during the course of this Conference to date.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

I would like to make clear why we are speaking of English and French languages alone in this particular topic. As has been mentioned by Mr. Robichaud in his most recent remarks, and has been mentioned by other delegates to this Conference, the historical and the linguistic roots of our country of Canada have evolved from two communities - the French-speaking community and the English-speaking community. And these two communities have in large measure shaped the character of Canada, particularly in a linguistic way, even though we have many, many immigrants come to Canada from other countries and other language groups.

Our focus in Ontario on the use of the English and French languages exists because, traditionally and historically, these are the two working languages of the Canadian people. They are the two working languages of Canadian public administration, federal and provincial; and in all provinces, one or the other. And it seems to us, that in choosing to come to Canada as an immigrant, those whose mother tongue may be neither English nor French accept the fact that in this country there are two working languages, and the working languages of the country are limited to these two languages, English and French. And I think most people who have come to this country from other language groups have come fully aware that they would have to learn one or other or both of these languages as working languages in this country, if they were to participate fully in the life of the country which they have adopted by coming here as immigrants. And this, I would like to point out, I don't think is in any way related to what culture they may bring with them, because that culture remains and their own mother tongue remains as part of the culture. But the point I am making is that in this country there are two traditional working languages in either the private or the public sector, and only two.

This fact does not in any way relate to the status of Canadian citizenship; I don't think it can be related to that in any way. The newcomer to our shores, to Ontario, to any part of Canada, as he acquires Canadian citizenship, acquires exactly the same rights and privileges as those who have been here for many generations. There is nothing in this language question that affects citizenship in any way.

In short, I should like to emphasize and dispose of the idea that there are any second-class citizens in this country, because there are not. We have one class of citizen and this is a Canadian citizen.

We do recognize the special place for the English language and the French language in Canada. But this does not change in any way, shape or form the basic fact of Canadian citizenship. In discussing this whole problem of language, I would like to make that point very clear.



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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

I would like to make clear also, that, as in so many of these matters we have discussed today, we cannot find necessarily a common mould for all of Canada. The situation in the Province of Ontario for which I speak, and for which I speak only, may be quite different from that in other provinces. I would like to make that point very clear. I think this point has been made very clear in other matters that have been discussed here in these last two days.

I am setting forth here, as part of our contribution to this total discussion, what our thoughts are as to what might be done in Canada in the second century of Confederation; I am setting these thoughts forth really on the basis of what we see Ontario to be, and what the history of Ontario may be, in order that the courses of action which we have followed in this province and the practices that we have developed may be fully understood.

According to the 1961 census, there are 425,302 Ontarians who claim French as their mother tongue. This figure is different from those whose family background may be French, because there are a great many more of those. But as of the census of 1961, this is the number who claim French as their mother tongue; in other words, French was their basic language. This number has increased considerably during the past six years. Outside the Province of Quebec, this is the largest French-speaking group in Canada. Indeed it exceeds, in some instances, the total population of some of the other provinces.

In the approaches that we take to this problem in Ontario I think this fact must be borne in mind. Our Franco-Ontarians are concentrated mainly in the east and in the northeast, along the Quebec border. However, in recent years, there has been a movement of many Quebecers and many Franco-Ontarians from the northern part of the province into southwestern and south-central Ontario. These people have been added to other traditional settlements we have had over the years in Windsor, in Penetanguishene and in Welland, to give you three areas in southern Ontario where there are concentrations.

In the administration of our government, several departments and agencies that deal directly with the public have found it a practical necessity over the years to engage bilingual personnel to serve these regions and localities. I would mention, particularly, the Department of Agriculture and its extension services, which have a good many French-speaking personnel. The Department of Social and Family Services find it necessary as well; our Provincial Police in some areas are bilingual. Of course, in the Department of Education there has always been a great number of French-speaking personnel.

I would also make this clear, that we have dealt with these problems over the years. I will give you a very small amount of history to show you how we have dealt with it. By and large in Ontario, we have dealt with it on what might be termed an ad hoc basis. Where a necessity arose, we dealt with it.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

Where it was necessary for our government services, in order that they be properly set out for our citizens, then we have employed bilingual personnel. I would not be here before you and my fellow delegates saying that this has been a perfect solution to the problem, because I rather doubt that it has. But nonetheless historically, over many years, this is the way it has been developed and dealt with in Ontario.

Now against this background, I should like to set out in some detail the development of French language education in Ontario. I think that you may find that this is a good deal more extensive than many people realize. As we discussed earlier in the question of the procedure that we might follow, it was suggested that if any delegate wanted someone other than the leader of the delegation to speak, we could use the lectern which is over to the right of this semi-circle of desks.

When I have finished these rather brief introductory remarks I should like to ask the Hon. Mr. Davis, the Minister of Education, to take his place at the lectern and tell you in some detail exactly what we are doing in this province, what our plans are, what we have been able to accomplish and what we foresee we will be able to accomplish in Ontario.

Historically, as we look at events here in this province, we find that the use of French both as a language of communication and as a language of instruction, can be traced back to the early French settlements that existed in Ontario. For many, many years, in the days prior to Confederation, primary schools in the French and English languages were established in various areas of this province with little or no debate. There was no problem. If there were French children, there were French schools; if there were English children, there were English schools. As a matter of fact, in checking back historically, there was one point prior to Confederation when the man whom we regard in Ontario as the father of our educational system, Dr. Egerton Ryerson, in some recorded documents referred to French as well as English as the recognized languages of Upper Canada. He expressed the view that children could be taught in either language.

Perhaps there is nothing new under the sun. You can see that there is a very deep background for the use of French, which is just simply embedded in the history of the settlement of the province and in the lives of the early settlers.

This was the situation at the time of Confederation, I would submit, and, therefore, because of this, there was very little difficulty surrounding the use of language for instruction in schools. Now there were plenty of difficulties in this province in the area of religious education prior to Confederation. But there was not, I would suggest to you, any particular difficulty in the role of language for instruction in the schools. So, when the British North America Act was drafted, the problem of the language instruction in schools really was not dealt with.

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The situation continued until the 1880's when there were increasing numbers of people moving into Ontario from Quebec. It was in the 1880's that controversy in this particular area began to develop. In that same period - the 1880's - action was taken by the Government of Ontario to declare that English was to be the official language of instruction except "where impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English." Here you have, once again, this typical Ontario approach to dealing with the situation as it arose.

This situation went on in this way until, as many of you are aware, the language problem erupted in earnest in 1912, and Regulation 17 - that infamous regulation that has been discussed so often and so fully in our history - was passed. It forbade the use of French as a language of instruction in our schools of this province after Form 1, as it was known in those days.

Once again the forces of compromise and common sense took over. During the 1920's and in the 1930's, by compromise and by agreement and, in fact, disregard of Regulation 17 to some extent, steps were taken which, while never formalized, resulted in patterns of instruction in the French language at the elementary school level which, over the years, have proved to be workable. I would never go so far as to say that they were completely satisfactory. I am quite certain that they were not. But nonetheless, in the face of these difficulties, some solution and some compromise was found.

In recent years, some very substantial progress has been made in providing equality of educational opportunity at the elementary school level by the processes of simply adapting to needs. Once again we were dealing with the problem as we had in the past.

I would like to make one point abundantly clear at this time and in this gathering. That is that Regulation 17 and all its implications are gone forever from our thinking, are gone forever from our practice, and are removed forever from the educational system of the Province of Ontario.

Over the years, and especially in recent years, the use of the French language in Ontario schools has been increasing rapidly. I think this has been largely as a result of the historical status of the language as I have described it to you. It is a result of our French-speaking population. And, of course, there have been social changes which have led to increased teaching of French.

We detect - and I have spoken of this on other occasions - among our English-speaking people in Ontario, a great interest in the French language and in the French culture, and in what might be added to the general life of this province if we were to take a much fuller advantage



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of what is offered to us by the fact that we have a second, living language available to our people in this province.

This is the history of French language education in Ontario. It was very briefly put. But I hope I have touched the points which will give you an understanding of our situation. I reiterate that we do not expect other situations to be exactly parallel because, of course, they are not.

With your permission I should like to ask the Hon. Mr. Davis to take up the story from here and to tell you exactly what we are doing today and what we have accomplished. But before I ask him to go to the lectern, I should like to make it quite clear that we are committed in Ontario to policies which he will outline to you. These are not matters that have been lightly arrived at; they are policies which have been developed over a period of time and which have been publicly stated. They are based not only on some of the ideas advanced by Premier Smallwood and with which I was in complete agreement, but I think also that they are based in recent years on our determination to provide, as fully as possible, complete equality of opportunity for education to all the young people of our province.

We are also fully aware of the fact that there is a national interest in what we are doing and that, Mr. Robichaud, we may be able, in some way, also to assist in the reconciliation of some of these problems which exist in our country and which certainly need to be dealt with.

With your permission I will ask Mr. Davis to go to the podium and take up the story from here.

Hon. W. G. Davis (Minister of Education, Ontario):

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen. Before giving you some very brief information as to the factual situation dealing with the French-speaking students in the Province of Ontario, perhaps I might be permitted, in that this is to be a free and frank discussion of situations, and in that Mr. Robichaud touched on a matter that I think was of relevance to all of us, to take this opportunity to point out something else to the delegates and to the observers here present.

I can only speak of the field in which I have a particular interest, and that is education.

Very recently, the Ministers of Education from across this country formalized or established the first Council of Ministers of Education for Canada.



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I think it should be known to the general public, Mr. Chairman, that one of the leading participants, and a gentleman and a department that provide a great leadership in this particular development which I believe has merit for Canada, was the Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec, Mr. Bertrand. I should say, Mr. Johnson, perhaps your former Minister of Education, Mr. Bertrand. I think I can speak for the other Ministers in this regard - at least of Education - that we were all very impressed and pleased at the desire shown by our sister province of Quebec to join with the other provinces of Canada in developing an approach to the educational problems of this jurisdiction, one in which Quebec played a very active role indeed.

That is digressing, Mr. Chairman, from the task that you have given me to perform.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I will outline for you very briefly the patterns which have been emerging in this province regarding the use of the French language in the educational program.

As many of you are aware, there have been for many years well established and, we believe, effective bilingual public and separate schools at the elementary level where the instruction has been given to the end of grade 8. I have figures that are as up-to-date as I can provide at this present moment.

During the 1966-67 school year - and Mr. Johnson, I have had this statement translated into the French language because, very frankly, I think one of the problems we face in this country is the difficulty of communication between provinces. I would hope sir, that you will endeavour in some way to get some of this information back to your constituents in the Province of Quebec. Very frankly, I am not sure they fully recognize the scope of the French educational program that does exist in the Province of Ontario.

In 1966-1967, there were 93,000 French speaking students attending our bilingual elementary schools in Ontario. Of these 97 per cent, some 90,500, attended over 389 bilingual Roman Catholic separate schools and the remainder, some 2,500, attended 14 French language public schools. While I, Mr. Chairman, would never differ with the Premier of the Province of Newfoundland, I was a little disconcerted this morning when I heard him refer to the only bilingual school that he knew of in Canada as being situated in Labrador. I regret he is not here with us this afternoon, because I would be delighted to have him visit at least one of the 389 bilingual schools that we have here in the Province of Ontario.

In a number of these schools the use of the French language - and it is a complicated procedure, gentlemen; my statement is not completely comprehensive, and as the Prime Minister of Ontario has pointed out, we don't

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say by any means that we have solved all the problems with respect to French education, but I think we are making progress - the use of the French language continues to the end of grade 10.

Last year there were some 5,750 students enrolled in grades 9 and 10 of these French language classes. There were in all, if one looks at the totals, last year, some 3,179 classrooms and 3,595 bilingual teachers involved in the program of French instruction in the bilingual elementary schools in the Province of Ontario.

At the secondary level, Mr. Chairman, there are schools in some forty communities across Ontario, offering an instructional program in French in the subjects of history, geography, Latin, and of course, Français. These schools are located in centres such as Chelmsford, Cornwall, Eastview, Hawkesbury, Kapuskasing, Penetanguishene, Plantagenet, Sturgeon Falls, Sudbury and others. The number taking the courses in Français in secondary schools last year was some 8,739.

Private schools where French is the language of instruction have in the past also provided for an additional substantial number of students at the secondary school level. I wish to come back to the secondary school area later in my remarks.

But at the post-secondary level, it is also interesting to note what is happening. There are two bilingual universities in the Province of Ontario - the University of Ottawa, which is one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in our province, and Laurentian University in Sudbury. This latter institution was established only eight years ago to serve the northern part of Ontario. It is located on what I believe is one of our very excellent campuses, in Sudbury, and it has plans, as we all know, for very substantial expansion over the next few years.

Some three years ago now, negotiations took place whereby the University of Ottawa became eligible for full participation in provincial government grants along with the other universities of Ontario. Since then, the university has been able to plan its expansion to meet the requirements of the future and both Laurentian - and this I think is a very interesting fact - both Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa received grants in excess of the pattern for other institutions, to assist them to meet the cost inherent in carrying on programs in both English and French.

I believe it is significant that the University of Ottawa, Mr. Chairman, has been able to attract a substantial number of French-speaking students from the Province of Quebec and that these students have contributed greatly to the life of that university. In fact, Mr. Johnson, I would be so bold as to suggest that perhaps there is a substantially higher

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percentage of French-speaking students at the University of Ottawa than perhaps are enjoying education from the Province of Quebec at a certain university in the City of Montreal.

In the area of teacher education, we have had for some years a bilingual teachers' college operated by the province in accommodation leased from the University of Ottawa. A second bilingual teachers' college was established three years ago at Sudbury, in conjunction with Laurentian. A site has been selected on this campus; construction will start in the spring of '68 and we plan to integrate the teachers' colleges with our university environment and the new college in Sudbury will initially continue to train bilingual teachers for the bilingual elementary schools.

We move into what is now the difficult area of secondary education and I should point out, Mr. Chairman, that negotiations have now been going on for the past few months with officials of the University of Ottawa, whereby a new type of institution to educate both elementary and secondary teachers for our French schools will be provided by the Department of Education. These negotiations have now reached the stage where a site on the University of Ottawa campus has been agreed upon, and the conditions under which the new college will operate, under an agreement between the University and the Department, have been discussed in detail, and it is anticipated that they will be concluded, I would hope in the next few weeks.

This new institution, Mr. Chairman, will be modern in every respect and will graduate teachers for service in the elementary and in the proposed secondary French schools system within the public secondary school system of this province.

This latter point brings me back to the secondary school area to which I referred earlier in my remarks. In the past, students who graduated from our bilingual elementary schools - and I think this must be said - were often handicapped by the necessity to receive much or all of their instruction in English at the secondary school level. The result, very frankly, was that a substantial number of these young students left the school system. Others moved to the private French schools for their secondary education. Even in this latter case, problems resulted because if the student took his instruction obviously in French, he was still faced with the necessity to take the grade 13 external examinations where the emphasis was in English, except for Français; and there were other factors, I believe, which created hardships for these particular students.

In August of this year, the Prime Minister of Ontario announced that this province would establish French secondary schools within the public system wherever numbers obviously made it practicable or feasible to do so.



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Just last week a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Roland Bériault of the Policy and Development Council of the Department of Education, to study the legal and procedural requirements necessary to give the necessary guarantees that these schools will be provided wherever the numbers can provide - as the educators call it these days - a viable unit.

The Committee, I should point out, Mr. Chairman, has been instructed to report by the 15th of March, 1968, so that its recommendations can be considered promptly. It is hoped that the composite French schools will be established to provide the whole range, including the technical, vocational, commercial and technology courses and that these will be available to the students within the system.

I think it is heartening to note, Mr. Chairman, that there is already evidence that several boards are proceeding with their plans to provide French secondary schools without waiting for the committee's report.

I should emphasize that, technically, it is quite feasible for them to do so within the existing framework, but it is in the area of recommending guarantees that the committee will be particularly helpful.

When these latter schools are operative there will be assured - and I think this is a factual statement, Mr. Chairman - there will be assured to every French-speaking student in the province the opportunity to receive his education from kindergarten through university, through graduate school and teacher education, in the language of his first choice. This is an objective and achievement which we intend to pursue with all vigour, because we recognize that Ontario has a special interest and concern in this area.

The more than 500,000 French-speaking citizens of our province are not matched either in numbers, as the Prime Minister of Ontario has pointed out, or proportion of population by other provinces - say, of our friends in Quebec and possibly, New Brunswick.

I should add here, Mr. Chairman, as just a note, that as Minister of Education, I am sure Mr. Johnson would understand that during the discussions of the transfer - and it is a very complicated problem - of the secondary schools for French instruction, I think as you, Sir, have a responsibility as you said to us yesterday, to educate your young people to participate in what is basically a French-speaking province that we too, Sir, have a responsibility here to see that in the development of the educational aspect of this new program, that these young people can and should be able to participate in the province where, very frankly, the language of business and commerce will be predominantly English. While I am in no way prejudging the work or the discussions of the committee, some



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of whom may be here on this occasion, I think it is important to point out that when this change takes place, we must recognize that as a province we have this obligation to the young people of French background - to see that they, too, can become fully participating members of our own community here in the Province of Ontario, and I think this, Sir, is a very understandable position.

I should just like to add one footnote to my comments, Mr. Chairman, if I may, that does not relate to French as the language of instruction in our secondary schools, because I think it is interesting to note that in addition to the French-speaking students, there were last year 409 separate and public school boards offering French to our English-speaking students - perhaps an area that has not been thoroughly canvassed nor appreciated in some of the discussions that have taken place to date.

In these elementary schools, 257,000 students were receiving instruction in regular classrooms and 2,940 in special classes, making a total in excess of 260,000 Ontario English-speaking students who were receiving instruction in the French language. Special or itinerant teachers employed by boards to teach French only numbered in excess of 575 and in addition, Mr. Chairman, 405 regular classroom teachers included this subject as part of their regular teaching program.

The course in teaching French, offered for the first time in 1965 in our teachers' colleges, has been expanded to include selected groups of students in ten teachers' colleges in the Province of Ontario, and we had over 200 student teachers enrolled in this particular course in this past year.

While I think it is fair to state that we are anxious to expedite this program here in our province, there are certain practical limiting factors, one of these being, of course, the provision of teachers. And in very casual discussions, Mr. Johnson, with your own Minister and some of his officials I understand, Sir, that you too have slight shortages of teachers within your own province, and we cannot really look to Quebec to solve the problems that we face here with respect to French language instruction in the English-speaking schools. But as the Prime Minister has pointed out - and I think it is very relevant, gentlemen - there is a growing interest on the part of the English-speaking parents in the Province of Ontario to have their youngsters receive oral French as part of the regular school curriculum, and I would think, Mr. Chairman, that this is a pretty clear indication that there is a genuine desire on the part of many people in the Province of Ontario not only to receive this educational - in my view - advantage, but, as well, a desire to understand, to a degree at least, the culture and the language of one of the very significant sister provinces of Canada. And I would like to think that the program that we are developing

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here in education is a very concrete example to our friends in the Province of Quebec, that we in Ontario are serious when we say that we are attempting not only to look after the needs of what are basically Ontario citizens, the citizens of the Franco-Ontarian community, but at the same time to demonstrate to you, Mr. Johnson, and to your constituents, that we do wish to understand and appreciate the complexities of your own community. I think what we are doing in education perhaps indicates this, to a very substantial degree.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Thank you, Mr. Davis. I think this perhaps completes this portion of this discussion - in any event, the remarks which we from Ontario wish to make.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Mr. Chairman, I would begin by drawing to your attention a passage to be found at the conclusion of the preliminary statement of the Government of Quebec, copies of which were distributed yesterday.

It is a passage touching on the role of French and English languages in Canada. I believe it to be an eminently sensible and sensitive statement of a practical, realizeable objective:

In the preceding paragraph, the statement has said that

...essentially, what French Canadians want is to be themselves and develop normally, like any other people, in Quebec and other parts of Canada... They also want it to be possible for members of their community settled in other provinces to develop as English-speaking Canadians can do in Quebec.

And then the statement goes on to say this - I am still quoting the brief of the Province of Quebec of yesterday -

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In a country like ours we must begin by ensuring public education at all levels in Canada's two official languages, wherever the English-or French-speaking group is sufficiently large. Obviously, this does not rule out the necessity of providing the French-or English-speaking groups with means of acquiring good command of the majority language in their environment.

That is the end of the quotation. Then the statement goes on to suggest that there might possibly be a regional way to deal with the problems of providing other services, such as agencies, departments and the courts, in such a way as to meet the needs of both English-speaking and French-speaking persons in Canada.

Now Mr. Chairman, I said yesterday that we can hold a lot of meetings and not have much communication. I would suggest to you at this time that we can also have a lot of comings and goings at such events as this, and not travel any distance worth mentioning.

It seems to me that we almost have a choice. We can see our country carried away by words, or we can see our country brought along by deeds.

There are those who desire major constitutional rewriting. There are others who opt for amendments and adjustments, and I stated that clearly, I thought, a moment ago.

There are others who see little need for constitutional change of any kind, and they all came prepared to hold discussions about these things, to determine the way we should go. And this is good.

I think it is good that we are now mature enough to begin to be frank and outspoken about matters that go to the heart of our nationhood. But surely we do have, and we do have right now, an obligation to do what we can to use the constitutional powers that we now possess, the educational forms that we can now design.

Surely if we really mean to stay together, and grow together as a nation, we must do what we can with the powers we now have, to ensure full opportunity for expression and development to the two basic cultural communities of Canada.

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That is why I believe that the Quebec statement with respect to this matter is entirely practical, and is also practicable. It does not ask of the impossible, it asks of the attainable. It asks us to recognize what is most certainly true, that Canada, sociologically speaking, is a nation where there are two basic cultural communities, two basic cultural configurations. Two basic cultural orientations, directed by the operative language in each case, of French and English.

As far as New Brunswick is concerned, and I know as far as Ontario is concerned, we would accept the Quebec statement in this regard as an acceptable, and indeed, an essential policy and objective.

In our view it is a policy that should commend itself to every province. If we act in support of such a policy, we will be doing much to ensure the continued integrity of both communities and we will ensure also a social and cultural enrichment in our society.

New Brunswick accepts that policy, as far as our province is concerned, and in pursuit of it we make use of all the resources available to us under a cultural exchange agreement.

We are prepared to adjust the processes of our courts, as we did last year under the changes that we made under the Evidence Act - that is, that we made it possible for witnesses to be able to testify in their mother tongue.

Above all, we are prepared to act in pursuit of such a policy in the field of education, and I think at this stage, I would like to ask the Minister of Education for the Province of New Brunswick to follow the Minister of Education for Ontario, Mr. Davis, with your permission, Mr. Chairman.

Hon. W. W. Meldrum (Minister of Education, New Brunswick):

Mr. Chairman, I would first of all like to join with Mr. Davis in his discussion on the Council of Ministers of Education and on his comments as well on Mr. Bertrand's very constructive position throughout.

I think I might usefully add that the discussion among Ministers of Education in the last couple of years, for educational change, educational improvement, and educational understanding, curriculum, text and research, has been perhaps greater among the ten provinces than even a decade ago one could have imagined.



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(Hon. Mr. Meldrum)

The level of co-operation which we have all been able to achieve is, I think, an admirable factor.

And speaking for one of the poorer provinces, I think perhaps we can legitimately thank the Ministers of Education, particularly of Quebec and of Ontario, two great neighbours, for setting the example of that co-operation and assisting the rest of us in it.

Mr. Chairman, if our problems are to be faced and handled, they must be handled by men willing to give strong leadership, who can honestly face tough decisions. It is too easy for politicians to blame our problems on someone else and to demand sacrifice from someone else for the means of solving our own needs.

I venture to suggest that in the field of education, a field in which language and culture are vital concerns, New Brunswick's experience may be a useful example. Our educational system, as it affects French Canadians, is an example of what can be done to improve the lot of one cultural or linguistic group, without loss; in fact, at the same time improving the lot of the other.

In a province sixty per cent English, thirteen of our twenty-nine school superintendents are French-speaking. Seventy thousand of our one hundred and sixty thousand school children are being instructed in schools where the language of instruction is French, from French texts, writing French language examinations. Our director of teacher training is French-speaking. Thirty per cent of our teachers in the Province of New Brunswick are French-speaking.

We have thirty-four school districts. It took some mild upheavals and a not-so-quiet revolution to create that situation, but we have. In five, the schools are almost exclusively French-speaking. In fifteen, they are exclusively English-speaking. The remainder of the districts have both French and English schools. Next year, because most districts will have enough pupils to support it, two more of the districts which now are exclusively English-speaking, should have French-speaking schools.

For many years, French has been the language of instruction for French-speaking children, and English for English-speaking children. For English-speaking children, French is compulsory at all schools, from grade seven on, and it is available in many schools from grade three on. For French-speaking children, the English language is compulsory from usually grade one. The fact of French for French language instruction for French-speaking children and English, for English-speaking, does not involve any great exercise in altruism or generosity. It recognizes simply that if you want to teach, you use the words the pupils can understand.

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(Hon. Mr. Meldrum)

We in New Brunswick can't afford to make drop-outs of children who got behind, who got discouraged, or who felt discriminated against. We want every child to get all the education he can in the language he can understand, particularly for those of us who are poorer. Education and productivity must be the keys to determine and increase prosperity, and we who are English-speaking want the French-speaking to pull their full weight. They can't do so unless they are given an equal opportunity.

Twelve of our sixteen cabinet ministers in New Brunswick are totally or partially bilingual. That is not a necessity. In my years with the government, not more than half a dozen French-speaking New Brunswickers have ever asked me if I spoke French.

It's not the fact that is important. It is the emotional certainty of fair treatment and understanding. In New Brunswick, that involves the creation of the French-language University of Moncton, and in fact about thirty per cent of our university students are French-speaking, attending French-speaking instructional universities.

In September 1968, we will open our first fully French-language teachers' college. To use your words, Mr. Chairman, we see equality of opportunity in terms of people. That has led us to appoint two Canadian Indians to school boards, to public school boards - so far as I know, the first in Canada. They are in districts, naturally, with substantial Indian population. And that perhaps should lead us to wonder whether some change in the constitutional status of Indians might be a subject for our concern too.

In terms of people I would like to tell you of one school where on January 1st, 1967, after our new Schools Act came into force, we brought grades 6 and 7 from their one-room multigrade schools to the nearby city schools. Two or three months later, their teacher described to me some of their reactions.

The first was from those children: "Is it always warm in school? Don't you ever have to wear your coat in school?" In the morning of one day, she suggested to some of the students that after they had eaten their lunch at noon, they should go downtown, look in the store windows, go in the stores, ask questions, and come back and tell the class in the afternoon what they had seen. They did come back and they told of going downtown, of seeing the stores and what they had seen in the windows. And the teacher said, "Yes, that's very well, but what did you see when you went in the stores?". And one of the children said: "Oh, we couldn't go in the store, we don't speak English".

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(Hon. Mr. Meldrum)

Now, I don't care whether you speak English or French and I don't care whether those children will learn English, although they will in New Brunswick. What I do care is that in 1967, grade 6 children in this country of ours did not feel free to enter a store where in fact probably half the clerks were French-speaking.

The example is extreme and it is rare. If it were not so, the teacher would not have thought it useful to tell me. But until all Canadians feel at home in all of Canada, we are not a true nation.

That doesn't mean every English-speaking Canadian learning to speak French or the reverse. That can't happen in the foreseeable future. It does mean that each must have the right to be himself and each must know that every other Canadian will respect him in his individualism.

We feel that we are achieving real strides in that direction in New Brunswick, and no honest look at the means of improvement can find any weakening of the position of the majority to make room for the strengthening of the minority. In New Brunswick we gain strength from each other, and we feel that it can be so, too, in the nation as a whole.

Hon. Mr. Smith:

There are a few remarks I would like to make on behalf of Nova Scotia on this question.

I might begin by saying that 12 per cent of our population is of Acadian origin. While it is scattered to some degree throughout various parts of our province, there are concentrations in four main areas. We have had for some time a committee of teachers of Acadian origin to advise the curriculum committee on the teaching of French in our schools, and particularly in our schools which are predominantly attended by Acadian students.

For many years French text books in reading and in language have been prescribed for these schools, from primary to grade 10. Special courses in French language and in literature have been prescribed for French-speaking students in grade 11 and grade 12.

The committee on Acadian studies is now considering further development in this direction. We have not had a recommendation from them but we would expect to receive one in the near future, and we would expect that recommendation to indicate a further substantial degree of progress in bringing about a situation where in such schools, instruction in all subjects can be given in French.



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(Hon. Mr. Smith)

We have a relatively small institution which we call a college - I suppose it is the equivalent of a junior college - in one of our Acadian communities which is attended by some of our people and by people from outside the province.

Like Ontario, we think we have an obligation to help these young people, and I think New Brunswick seems to feel the same way, to make their way in the English-speaking communities in which they are likely to live a large part of their lives; but we also want to make sure that, to the extent they wish to do so, they have an opportunity to enrich their lives by studies in their own language, of the culture of the race from which they have sprung, and we shall continue to work towards that end.

One of our difficulties, and I note we are not alone in this, is to find the skilled teachers in sufficient numbers to make the progress that we would like to make. We are now making special efforts to train more teachers to give instruction in our schools in French.

We want to make a contribution not merely to the welfare of our own people - though that would be a quite sufficient objective in itself - but a contribution to Canadian understanding, Canadian unity, and we will continue to improve our efforts to do this in the field which we are now discussing.

I thought the gathering might be interested to hear the views of one of the members of the Government of Nova Scotia, who is himself an Acadian, and who attended schools of the kind of which I speak. He is the Hon. Gerald Doucet, our Provincial Secretary, and with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would ask him to say a word or two.

Hon. G. J. Doucet (Provincial Secretary, Nova Scotia):

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, my words will be brief because the Premier, in his usual comprehensive way, has covered most of the subject matter.

I would like to say to this Conference that it has been possible for a Nova Scotian to be taught in French, to the extent that the mechanism has been available, by the approval of text books for this purpose by the Governor-in-Council since the early years of this century.



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(Hon. Mr. Doucet)

Our main difficulty, as the Premier has stated, in making this possible to the extent that we might like to, has been the shortage of skilled teachers who can teach in French. I suspect that this is a difficulty which is universal in this country.

I must also say, in all frankness, that Acadians in my province have recognized the fact of life in Nova Scotia, namely, that one cannot, for the most part, make a satisfactory living in Nova Scotia unless one is conversant in the English language.

Take, for example, Mr. Chairman, if you will, the case I must know best, my own. I was born and raised in a French community. I decided in favour of going to an English university rather than a French one to learn and improve my English. I suspect that most Acadians in Nova Scotia have made and are making the same decision.

I sense the desire in Nova Scotia by a considerably increasing number of English-speaking parents for their youngsters to be given an opportunity to be taught to speak French at the school level. The Government of Nova Scotia has under consideration at the moment what it can practically do in this regard. Stated in the most simple terms, it is surely of advantage for every Nova Scotian and every Canadian to speak at least two languages, these two languages being the French language and the English language. Thank you.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Mr. Chairman, on the island of Newfoundland, one-twentieth of one per cent of our people speak French. One-twentieth of one per cent; that is on the island. So there is no French-speaking school on the island, although, in scores of schools, French is taught. I learned French in school fifty-odd years ago and everyone in the school learned French. Mr. Haliburton over there from Nova Scotia went to the same school in St. John's, and he learned his French in that same school. Now, I don't know how well we learned it, but they taught us French. They taught us the French grammar and then we had what was called French conversation. For one hour nothing was allowed to be spoken except French, and you would get to be fairly good at it. Then you would leave school and never hear French again maybe for another thirty years. So we didn't get to be very good French scholars.

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(Hon. Mr. Smallwood)

But to this day French is taught in dozens and perhaps scores - I would not say hundreds - but in scores of these schools French is taught, as is Latin. It is one of the two foreign languages, we say. Latin and French.

But outside Newfoundland, outside the island of Newfoundland, in Labrador, we have a community, a settled community, a town where the people live with their families, wives and children in their homes; it is a settled community - Labrador City. And in Labrador City, every teacher - there is one big school, only one - unlike most of our Newfoundland settlements, where the schools are denominational. The Roman Catholic Church operates five or six hundred schools. The Anglican Church about the same. The United Church rather fewer. Salvation Army so many, and the Pentecostal people. But in Labrador City, there is one school and all the children of the community attend that one school, and all of the teachers, whether they are English-speaking or French-speaking in their mother tongue, are all bilingual. The teachers are bilingual, and all the students in the school learn in French and in English both together, not one or the other, but both. This we have in the only community in our province with a substantial proportion of the population being French.

The proportion of French people, French-speaking people in - and they are all from Quebec, they moved in from Quebec - the proportion would be about 40 per cent of the population of the town. And in that one community in Newfoundland, with as many as 40 per cent, or more than a dozen people, French is taught co-equally with English. And this is at the expense of the Newfoundland Government. I mean the costs of that school are met by the Newfoundland Government. The Newfoundland Government pays the cost of all schools in the province. No one else, no town, no district, nothing, all the costs of the schools of Newfoundland are borne by the government of the province, as we do in that particular school.

So as we are hearing so many testimonies this afternoon of what is being done in that direction, I think it is only fair to say the one thing I can say in this connection: it indicates at least an absence of prejudice on our part. Where we have got a community with a substantial number or proportion of French-speaking people, French is co-equal with English in the school, in the one and only school that the government maintains. I don't think we can go much further than that.

I don't think they go any further than that in Quebec. That is about the same thing as in Quebec, as I understand.

Before I close, may I draw your attention to a headline. I am sorry that the remark I made should have been so interpreted. I didn't threaten to walk out. As I recall it, what I did say, certainly what I

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meant to say, and I think what I said, was that if we weren't going to discuss the future of Canada but only the future of Quebec, then I wanted to go home. I wasn't threatening to walk out. You couldn't blast me out.

Hon Mr. Robarts:

Well, I must say, Mr. Premier, I don't think any of us took the connotation that headline indicates.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

And I might say too, for Mr. Manning's benefit - he hasn't read it yet - that on page 29, I did not say this or anything remotely approaching it. I want to say that because he is a friend of mine. He won't be after he reads that.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, will copies of the material presented by your Minister of Education and Nova Scotia be available to us?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Yes, they will. I think they are in translation at the moment; they will be available in both languages.

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Hon. Mr. Johnson:

It seems that Mr. Smallwood always gives me a cue. When he said, after exposing what is being done in Labrador, he said it was outside Newfoundland. I noted that very carefully and I hope he doesn't correct me. I hope he doesn't correct the record.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Mr. Johnson, I said it was outside the island of Newfoundland.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

In talking about his bilingual school, he said this was as much as Quebec was doing. I would not like this to be left on the record unanswered.

First of all, it is well known that Quebec has a school system which might be described as two-headed, and it is interesting to note that this system dates back to the time of the Union. Our public school system was established under the Union Government in 1848 or 1849, then complemented by another law in 1852, three or four years later. An exceptional system, since it gave complete freedom to the two entities which were then distinguished by religion and not by language. This may be an opportune time to remember that the present Constitution grants certain protection to the school systems as regards religion, but not language. And I understand the difficulty which may have prevented several provinces in the past from being more receptive to a multiple system, because introduction of parochial schools of a special kind would set a precedent which might be followed by several religious organizations. For I understand that among those who are commonly called Protestants - an improper term, I know; it seems that ecumenism is not quite established or at least was not until recently - there were extremely serious movements in favour of creating parochial schools for various religions or even different denominations, Anglicans for instance. I am thinking of Mormons, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, United Church, Adventists, and others. I was raised in a village with a population of sixteen hundred where there were five Protestant churches and a bilingual Catholic church in which sermons were given half an hour in English and half an hour in French. Enough to discourage the congregation!



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(Hon. Mr. Johnson)

So I understand that in the rest of Canada several factors may have prevented changing of the school system. For instance, I realize that, at a certain time in history, for a certain province to allow teaching to be done in French would have brought enormous difficulties upon the government, which would have been under pressure to provide instruction in German, Ukrainian and other languages. We understand this.

In Quebec, the British North America Act has therefore protected the schools from the religious viewpoint, not from the viewpoint of language. Whatever the causes may be, whatever benefits we may derive from it, the situation is much better and much more liberal than we were given to understand by the likeable Premier of Newfoundland, whom, incidentally, we do not ask to create a French school if he lacks pupils; we are trying to send Quebec workers into what he believes to be his part of Labrador and he insists that Newfoundlanders should be sent first and almost exclusively. I do not recall his asking me to send him French-speaking subjects in order to allow him to open up schools. But in Quebec the situation is as follows.

The English-speaking people have full freedom, not only to open up schools, but to finance them with taxes levied on the property of non-Catholics. They get their share of neutral tax revenue, that is from corporations or companies. Anglophones have complete autonomy as to the selection and training of teachers as well as the choice of text books, and when grants are awarded, they are treated not only with justice but with liberality. And for approximately 20% of Quebec's total population, there are, as everybody knows, three English-language universities: McGill, Sir George Williams and Bishops. For Catholic Irishmen or English-speaking Catholics, we also have Loyola College, which teaches to the degree level in arts, gives the first two or three years in science and engineering and grants bachelor's and master's degrees in certain scientific fields. For French-language students, we have Montreal and Laval - the Université de Montréal is quite recent, since it will not celebrate its fiftieth anniversary until 1970 - and the Université de Sherbrooke which is not yet thirteen years old - still a teenager. That is the situation: complete equality, equal and even liberal treatment, with a full, overflowing measure of justice towards the non-French element wherever it may be found in the province.

In fact our Education Act provides, and has done so from the outset, that wherever there are three parents not of the same faith as the majority in the territory of any school board, they can declare their dissent, constitute a separate school board and use the money from their taxes either for education locally, or even for sending their children to schools of their own language in the vicinity. And we have a number of school commissioners, or a number of school boards headed by dissentient school trustees; I have forgotten the exact figure but I can probably get it from the former Minister of Education, the Hon. Mr. Bertrand, who has just been congratulated, and very

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deservedly so; I think that he feels the need to thank you through me, even if his humility has really been put to the test. We know that he had this desire to co-operate and that he did work hand in hand with Mr. Davis, Mr. Meldrum and the other education ministers in founding the interprovincial Council of Ministers of Education; he had not only the blessing, but the enthusiastic encouragement of the government for the very important work accomplished by this commission.

Consequently, the system we have in Quebec is as liberal as possible and I do not think that anyone should have or has had to complain about it in the past. True, a number of English-speaking Catholics found that certain school commissions took their time about giving them comparable buildings; and something rather striking happened, which was somewhat unpleasant to see: because of the system, the English-speaking population, using their own taxes, their share of taxes from companies and corporations and grants from the government, organized a school system whose buildings and equipment are clearly of better quality, or were so until very recently. Incidentally, we might be forgiven for wondering what the equality of teaching for the English-speaking population in Quebec would be - and I think this applies to the rest of Canada - without the considerable contribution made by Great Britain under de facto exchanges, without any signing of agreements or any diplomatic complications raised by federal or provincial governments.

For the French-speaking population, and I acknowledge this publicly, a considerable effort has been made during the last few years, especially under the government which preceded us. I make no secret of this extra effort and this year, like most of my fellow premiers and ministers of education present here, we are absolutely flabbergasted by the amount of money that the Education Department and our senior officials are asking us to appropriate.

The appalling amounts that are put before us in the proposed budget for education are something to frighten the guts out of any of the premiers and ministers of finance. At least that is the case in Quebec, and I am sure it is in many other provinces. We all agree on this anyway. We find some area of agreement somewhere at this Conference.

I think even Mr. Smallwood will agree that there are pressing demands in education and appalling amounts are requested by ministers of education. Whether they are reasonable or not, I don't know.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Frightening, anyway.



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Hon. Mr. Johnson:

Frightening anyway. I am glad that we can agree on one thing all around the table.

So, there was a catching-up period. And despite political pressures, or because of them, we saw to it that some universities which were in a better financial position received their share of grants for the years previous to our taking power. So there is a problem in our province and the thing which makes the rest of Canada edgy, or seemingly so, is unilingualism. Let's be realistic about this: no legislation, constitutional formula, Estates General, Lévesque or any other movement will prevent the four-fifths of Quebec's population, who are just a flick of a knob away from their TV - from the source of the best television programs, that is the American networks - from watching American television in their homes. Anyone who believes that people can be prevented by constitutional reform from feeding at English-speaking sources, American or Canadian, is dreaming. But this puts an even more serious obligation upon us to ensure that, at least in school, our children not only learn French, but learn French of the highest quality. This is becoming more and more obvious. It is where the whole problem lies. Some specialists claim that it is bad for a child to receive formal instruction in a second language before his mind is formed or before he has reached age seven, eight or nine, and that, at best, this can only shape a rather blunt instrument. Others, on the contrary, say that such languages should be taught to children at a very tender age; still others, perhaps with more justification because it is realistic, claim that the essential thing is to have the mother tongue well taught for a number of years. Television and playmates on the street will help a child to learn other languages at a tender age; I apologize for setting myself as an example, but I think my case is typical: when I was very young, before going to school, I knew English better than when I left the Université de Montréal in 1940, and I had to learn English again in legal practice, so I could make myself properly understood in that language - at least I hope I can; but it came back to me easily because I had learned it on the street as a youngster. Therefore, the present situation and the modern world in which we live compel us to see that children learn their mother tongue in elementary school and that the language taught is of the highest possible quality. In order to resist the invasion of television and movies as well as the many other opportunities that French-speaking Canadians have to become Anglicized - I make no secret of my concern, I am not sure who is going to win - we must make an effort and we must make it through the schools. English-speaking Canadians from other provinces and even those in Quebec are uneasy because they wonder whether, by unilingualism, we mean the prohibition of English-language instruction. Not at all. What worries them is hearing us refer to French as the national language. Well, it was the Minister of Education of Ontario who best expressed today the concept of a national language as we understand it. And he felt the responsibility of the government for the young Franco-Ontarians, a responsibility to let them learn the language in which they will have to work, the language which prevails in

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the Province of Ontario. Similarly, we believe that we must give, not only French Canadians but also immigrants and English-speaking people in Quebec, an opportunity to learn the French language, not one hundred per cent right away, but gradually so that they may feel they are Quebecers, participants in and contributors to the French way of life. It is in this sense that we speak of French as the national language for Quebecers. It would be folly to imagine that we are going to force people to speak only one language, that we shall be able to raise barriers to high they will even prevent broadcasts from invading our homes. This idea is even more revolting when you know some of the people who suggest it; they invariably make sure that their children are bilingual, yet they would like to force unilingualism upon the children of other French-speaking Quebecers.

We must be realistic when we think of a new constitution. If we are to make plans - not necessarily for a century, but only for twenty or twenty-five years - surely it is understandable that the French language should be of good quality. Surely everyone will understand the need for exchanges with France - strictly exchanges, not political structures, just as they will understand the attitude of the Quebec Government which, owing to certain factors upon which I am not going to elaborate, had to take the initiative in the field of satellites, for the atmosphere was being saturated with these relays, none of which would have transmitted in French. And who among us is prepared to say that most of our news will not come through this medium in twenty-five or thirty years? Secondly, that satellites will not serve for education or formal instruction? Even in schools, there is television.

It was with that prospect in mind that we took this initiative and it is with that prospect in view that we work.

Gentlemen, I would like to assure the premiers and the whole population of Canada that not only do we have the most liberal educational system in our province but, as I stated publicly, as long as we have some say in the government of Quebec, the vested rights of those who do not speak French will be fully respected and they will receive their share of grants like the rest, for we are dedicated to freedom in this field. And we have committed ourselves to a political program which will be implemented - the grants follows the child. Since this is true even if he attends private institutions, this is our method of respecting religious and linguistic freedom; it might also be the means of respecting at least the linguistic freedom of French-speaking Canadians in other provinces.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Is there anyone who wishes to offer anything more in this particular area?



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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

We have so far dealt with this role of English and French languages in Canada really only in the context of education.

May I ask if there would be any wish on the part of the Conference to pursue some other aspect of this subject?

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Would there be any harm in asking what broad aspects of Canada's future the Confederation of Tomorrow will be talking about tomorrow? Will it be just a continuation of yesterday and today, or do we break some new ground? Or is this just Canada's future, the matters today and yesterday?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Well, I would say this, Mr. Smallwood. We have set out an agenda which, when we circulated it some weeks ago was said to be only a suggestion. We are open for any additions or deletions that may be thought proper by the members of the Conference. We have followed this agenda to date. If there is nothing further in this particular area which anyone wants to discuss, and this is what I was inquiring about, we would continue tomorrow on the general topic of "Ways in which the Federal System could be Improved." That is the next topic on the agenda.

Now I would say to you that this probably can be interpreted in the way which any delegate here wishes to interpret it.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Well, I ought to say that five weeks ago I bought an airplane ticket from Toronto to Glasgow for tomorrow night.

For fear the headlines might seem to be true, I want it known that I am taking the plane tomorrow night, not home, but to the United Kingdom, so tomorrow is an important day for me, the last day I will have here. And I would like to see some other parts of Canada's future discussed while I am here tomorrow.

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Hon. Mr. Robarts:

If you would like to make any suggestions to me between now and tomorrow morning, I would be glad to add anything to the agenda which you might wish, if it does not fit within what we might like to discuss, or within any of the topics that are there.

I might say, in reference to your departure tomorrow, we are all - I suppose maybe we are not experts at federal-provincial conferences, or conferences of this type - but let us put it this way: we have all attended a few. It has been my experience that it is very difficult to hold all the leaders of all the governments of all the provinces of Canada in one place for more than perhaps two or two-and-a-half days, as a result of previous engagements, and pressures which come about through domestic affairs at home. So I don't think any of us, Mr. Smallwood, will interpret your departure, or that of any other member of any of the delegations here, in any other way.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

All of my colleagues - there are, I think, eleven of us, and I will be the only one, so far as I know, leaving tomorrow night - the others will be here for the duration of the Conference.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Sir, I think your position is understood.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Chairman, may I, following the example of my colleague from Newfoundland again, may I ask him if we could call this a question of privilege.

In the Toronto Daily Star: "I can't stop separatism, Johnson tells Conference. Premier Daniel Johnson told the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference today that Quebec could prosper as an independent state". When did I say that?

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(Hon. Mr. Johnson)

I read the statement made by the former Minister of Revenue, Mr. Kierans, in 1964, and I have read his opinion to the contrary since.

And if you think that I am going to put my finger on that statement, you are wrong. But I am sorry to see that it is being blown up this way, and very wrongly. This is the kind of thing that doesn't help Canadian harmony.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Well, gentlemen, in regard to the procedures for tomorrow, I think that if there is anything further that anyone would like to say on the role of the English and French languages in Canada, over and beyond the area in which we discussed it this afternoon, i.e., the area of education, then there will be an opportunity at the opening of the session tomorrow morning. If there is no discussion in that area, we will then proceed to what is listed in your agenda under the fourth session, which really should have been this afternoon, had we followed the strict layout of timing here, the theme of which is "Ways in which the Federal System could be Improved." I think that this might be opinions that anybody might have on any improvement that might benefit them, the country as a whole, their own area, or whatever opinions anyone may have.

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

I am wondering, in view of the suggestion about patriation of the Constitution made earlier, and in view of the fact that some of the provincial prime ministers perforce must leave before the last day, if it would meet the sense of the meeting that we might touch upon constitutional patriation and the technique of amendment before the prime ministers depart?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

If that is agreeable, it could be included in the discussion.

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Hon. Mr. Bonner:

And if all of the delegates are agreeable.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

We will assume that that subject comes under the heading "Ways in which the Federal System could be Improved."



WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1967

MORNING SESSION

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Gentlemen, if I may assume that we completed the theme yesterday of the role of the English and French languages in Canada and if there is no other who wishes to make any further contribution in that area, I will assume that we may move on.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Before we leave the matter we were discussing yesterday, I might mention I am having prepared the pertinent sections of the School Act of Alberta which set out the provisions which we have made for the use of French as a language of instruction. I do not propose to elaborate on this but it might be of interest to the members of the Conference, inasmuch as what is being done in that regard in some of the other provinces was drawn to our attention.

I will have these distributed to the members of the Conference rather than take time to elaborate on them.

I might mention as a matter of interest, that these particular amendments providing for the use of French as a language of instruction under, admittedly, rather limited usage, were enacted by our Legislature three years ago before there were any of these pressures which are being talked about today.

It was a sincere desire on the part of our Legislature to meet what we thought was a desirable provision in Alberta.

I will have these distributed to the members of the Conference.

Hon. Mr. Weir:

Mr. Chairman, if I might just have a word, too - I apologize for having been late but I had an appointment with the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba on Monday and was not able to be here.

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(Hon. Mr. Weir)

I hesitated to say anything about Manitoba's position because I felt that it would be saying, "Me too!" maybe too much, but I thought maybe I could just point out that Manitoba in Canada's Centennial year provided legislation for half-time French instruction under specified conditions.

It was a bill that was passed unanimously by all members of the Manitoba Legislature. I think that is probably worthy of mention here this morning.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, could I just add a word?

Hon. Mr. Roberts:

Indeed, sir.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

Once again to my friend from Newfoundland. I wanted to listen to the news last night and I tuned in to the French station in Toronto, and let us say that I felt a little more at home because I could tune in to the French news in Toronto.

Well, if they come to Montreal, English-speaking people will have a choice of four radio stations, the CBC network and the CTV network - I am not saying which is best, but they have a choice there.

Even in Quebec City, where the district at the maximum has 7,000 English-speaking people, they have not only a radio station, but also a TV station; and in Rimouski you can tune in to English news; you can tune in in Temiskaming; you can tune in almost anywhere in Quebec.

I think that radio and TV would be a great advance that we could make in that field in Canada. We feel much more at home when we can

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listen to the news and get the fine points and know how the people are reacting back home. That is important to politicians.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, I would like to tell my good friend, Mr. Johnson, that if he will come to Edmonton he can hear an exclusive French language station which has operated for 20 years giving exclusive French programs all those years. He would feel quite at home.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

I understand that they are even now going to have one in B.C.

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

I was just going to say all things are possible!

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

But when do we get TV?

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

Well, we may have to alter the Constitution a wee bit to achieve that result.

I was going to say in this connection, Mr. Prime Minister, that our Premier and Mr. Pearson have recently exchanged letters, as I think almost every province may have, on the subject of encouragement of cultural relations between ourselves and the French-speaking countries.

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(Hon. Mr. Bonner)

We have had, as many other jurisdictions have had, some difficulty in the recruitment of French teachers for the instruction of the French language in our schools which is the heavy emphasis in our second language situation.

We would hope that arrangements at the initiative of the national government might permit teachers from France to take a sabbatical and join the educational system of our province to reinforce what has been quite a notable effort in instruction in French.

I think, however, that this is done in the context of the basic fact that the province is about 99 per cent English-speaking.

We have, I think, by statistical report about 50,000 people who are supposedly bilingual. I know how this statistic is computed because I have put myself down as one of those - so you can see that the statistics may not stand up too well. However, we hope for better things in this regard.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Are there any other comments on that particular topic, the role related to the French language in Canada?

If not, gentlemen, we will proceed to the next theme, which is "Ways in which the Federal System could be Improved". Under this are two topics: what viable choices are really open to Canada about its form of federalism, in other words, what options are there for us; and secondly, what are the implications of each of these options, the advantages and disadvantages?

Yesterday we agreed, and I don't think really agreement was necessary in this regard, that this topic might be treated in a broad enough fashion to encompass the specific subject of repatriation, if I may put it that way, of the Constitution; or what form an amending formula might take.

I believe, Mr. Bonner, you are ready to lead off the discussion in this regard.



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Hon. Mr. Bonner:

Well thank you, Mr. Prime Minister.

I had the opportunity in the opening statement on Monday to refer to what I think is a deficiency in our constitutional structure - namely, the inability of Canadians to amend the Constitution of our country in Canada; and I reminded the Conference in those brief remarks of the very considerable effort made nationally and interprovincially during 1964 to agree upon an amending formula.

Having, along with a number around this table, in this room, participated in the technical discussions which led up to the formula which was unanimously approved by the Premiers and the Prime Ministers on October 14, 1964, I have been personally rather disappointed, this having been the first time in Canada we could agree on the Constitution, we did not take the next step of implementing our agreement.

Now, to be fair about it, I realize that all provinces in their internal discussions were not agreed. I think eight or nine provinces in their Legislatures did agree, and for good and sufficient reasons one province did not.

The fact that agreement was not reached at that time, however, I think is not an argument that agreement is not possible, and although we are exploring things here and not seeking to arrive at definitive positions, I hope that by introducing this question, there might be encouraged a sufficient interest in resuming those discussions, that we might indicate through our conversations the desirability of taking up where that 1964 decision left off.

The twin questions of constitutional amendment are first, the formula, and secondly, the domicile or patriation of the Constitution in Canadian hands. I think this would be very much in line with the tenor of the remarks of the Prime Minister of Quebec, and although other spokesmen here have not been equally interested in constitutional change, I think nevertheless that the means of constitutional change deserve our attention.

Now if for any reason this idea might have been too broadly stated, I would like to pluck out from those discussions of 1964 one principle which I think has pertinence to the discussions we have had here these last three days. That was the principle of delegation, which is unknown to our Constitution.

Perhaps those who are viewing this Conference from afar will be surprised to find that our jurisdictions, federal and provincial, are regarded by jurisprudence as watertight compartments. I think there is agreement that it is only under the most remarkable administrative devices

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that we have been able to work either provincially on behalf of the federal, or work federally on behalf of the provincial interests in our country.

The most complicated of these arrangements recently has been the situation in which provincial public utilities commissions have been, in effect, exercising the jurisdiction of the federal government in inter-provincial transportation matters, in what can only be described as a grotesque arrangement mechanically, but which I suppose represents the triumph of the Canadian spirit to get things done over constitutional difficulty.

But it seems to me that in areas of the country where special problems exist, the device of delegation as a constitutional measure has many qualities to commend it. First it permits a local or regional accommodation in administrative and constitutional matters.

Secondly, it permits this accommodation without facing the more formidable question of constitutional amendment which in effect straddles both our positions, if I may say so.

Some feel that the Constitution itself does not require amendment; others suggest that the Constitution in its application requires some accommodation for the allowance of freedom of action for local or regional interests.

I commend to the consideration of the Conference the desirability of studying at this particular time - because I think it has relevance - the desirability of introducing a deliberate degree of flexibility in our national Constitution.

I can think of things which will probably make my federal friends blanch; I can think of things such as off-shore rights, of which we have had some recent mention, in which we can approach their disposition either by statutory conveyance, or by concurrent operation, or by delegation of jurisdiction or some other device. There are a number of ways in which this thing can be handled. Certainly delegation is one of them, and it is one which is not possible in the present state of affairs.

We have the problem in many parts of the country of marketing legislation. We have had a long list of difficult cases over the years in which various marketing schemes have been frustrated in the logic of their application by the divided jurisdiction which exists in this country in this particular field.

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(Hon. Mr. Bonner)

I have already mentioned transportation; coming closer to the current situation in Canada regarding governmental revenues, we have the serious limitation on provincial capacity to tax, in the denial under our Constitution of indirect taxation to provincial governments.

Now there would be the possibility - and certainly a basis for discussion, if we could embrace or endorse or introduce the device of delegation in our Constitution - the possibility of moving into the indirect tax field concurrently with the national government in a limited way, possibly for a limited time. But certainly it is not possible now even to talk about it because it is constitutionally incapable of fulfilment.

Labour relations are closely connected with the present difficulties of both the provincial and national economies. There are, I think, reasons to suggest the desirability of conveying, by delegation, a portion of labour relations responsibility - perhaps as they concern waterfront situations - to certain of the provinces of Canada. Certainly I have felt that way on behalf of British Columbia in the course of some labour disputes involving our waterfront, in which the provincial department was quite powerless, by reason of lack of jurisdiction, to intervene usefully.

I am not certain to what extent this might extend to broadcasting, but certainly it is a possibility, and where regional or cultural ideas are of special importance, it seems that even in this field, which is wholly national, the device of delegation would make possible useful discussion, without confronting areas which were indifferent to the question with the necessity of deciding upon constitutional amendment for the disposition of that type of representation.

It may be that I have trespassed perhaps in too great detail on the nature of our discussions here, Mr. Prime Minister, but it occurs to me that we have, as we face our second century, an obligation to place the amendment of the Constitution of our country in our own hands; the sooner we face up to this responsibility in concrete terms, the sooner we will dispel the basis of any criticism toward our Constitution as being beyond our control. And even if we do nothing about it, if it is in our hands, then we will have no one to blame but ourselves if we fail to take advantage of that fact.

I suggest, with deference to all suggestions on the Constitution and its future, that the first concrete step we ought to take is at least to take it into our own hands.

If for any reason we can't agree upon that, or if for any reason my suggestion in this regard does not receive sympathetic response, then I think in the light of constitutional questions which have been raised on behalf of a region or a province as being of special interest to that province



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or region, then I think we ought to consider the desirability of introducing a deliberate factor of flexibility into our Constitution by the device known as delegation.

I would think that if either or both of these steps could be taken up as a result of this Conference, or anything which this Conference might in the future promote, then we would be coming to concrete grips with at least the machinery by which this country might be better managed.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Any comment in this regard?

Hon. Mr. Smith:

Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could ask Mr. Donahoe, the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, who has been Attorney-General for some eleven years, and had a great deal to do with the problem of constitutional delegation, to say a word or two.

Hon. R. A. Donahoe (Attorney-General of Nova Scotia):

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: may I first offer congratulations to the leader of the British Columbia delegation for having so fairly and forcefully brought forward the suggestion that he has just finished making.

I have had the honour and privilege of attending a number of the conferences which sought to find new ways of dealing with our constitutional problems, and I represent the Province of Nova Scotia which, over a long period of time, has urged that this device of delegation be injected into our Constitution.

It is not something that was thought up recently, but something that has been urged in the Province of Nova Scotia for at least a score of years at every constitutional conference that has been held.



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And the device of delegation, as it has been proposed, is a two-way device; it's a device which implies the transfer of authority, or jurisdiction, or power from the federal government to the provincial government or from the provincial government to the federal government; in other words it's a two-way stream. It can be done according to agreement, and it was always said that it should be revocable so that if, in practice, the transfer of jurisdiction failed to work successfully, it was always open to either party to the arrangement, either the federal authority or the provincial authority, to withdraw and deal with the matter on the basis in which the British North America Act allotted the jurisdiction.

I believe with the Attorney-General of British Columbia that it would, indeed, inject a measure of flexibility into our Constitution which is totally and completely lacking, a measure of flexibility which could not in any way affect the relationship of any province except in a way in which that province wished to have its relationship affected.

So that if it was more convenient in a certain field - and several good illustrations have been given by Mr. Bonner - more effective in a certain field for Nova Scotia to have jurisdiction exercised by the federal government rather than by the provincial government, we would be free to endeavour to persuade the government of the day to make such an arrangement. But nobody else's relationships would be affected and nobody else would be required to do what we did. In other words, if you amend the Constitution so as to change the jurisdiction, change the allocation of jurisdiction, then you find yourself in the position where it must apply to all. If, on the other hand, you use this power of delegation, then individual arrangements can be made tailored to suit the needs of individual provinces.

And if we talk in these days about the desire, or the necessity, or the need for any province to have a special status, this is in effect the way in which each province can have the special status which happens to suit its own particular needs.

And I, for one, believe that if we could have the injection of a two-way revocable power of delegation of jurisdictional rights into our Constitution, we would in a very real way be modifying and adjusting our Constitution so that it could be made to work under modern conditions. We would, by so doing, avoid the difficulties and the restrictions that are imposed upon us by attempting to operate in a position of power which, as so often has been said, was made a hundred years ago and made in the light of conditions which then existed and which today, perhaps, is not as workable as it might be because we are living in circumstances and under conditions which nobody could have conceived at the time when the B.N.A. Act was drawn.

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Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Would you like to proceed, Mr. Johnson?

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

The idea of incorporating such machinery in the Constitution is one with which I am particularly familiar. This is a hotly-discussed subject in the Province of Quebec and one which has been debated publicly. Just let me state very clearly, very objectively, that it was neither the government nor the opposition of the day that rejected the formula named after two of my good friends, but the whole population. I arrive at this conclusion by establishing that the party which I then headed and of which I am still head took a very strong stand against this formula and it seems that it rallied to its view not only the majority of the population, but even the majority of MLAs on the government benches, since the party which had originally accepted this formula did not even dare defend it before the public.

It is therefore an extremely sensitive issue in our province and, as far as we are concerned, it would be out of the question to think of an amending formula or machinery without taking into consideration all the problems of a new constitution.

I know very well that two quite different attitudes are represented here. Our English-speaking friends in Canada inherited the attitude of Great Britain, which I believe is now the only country in the world - or almost the only one - without a written constitution. On the other hand, we have the attitude not only of French-speaking Canadians but also of many New Canadians who feel the need for a constitution in which principles are clearly set out and amending machinery provided, so that the rights of minorities, whatever they may be, are protected and cannot be subjected to the whims of a temporary majority.

I have already expressed this in a manner admirably suited to the situation in our province. As leader of my party, and with the full support of all my colleagues, I have recognized that we should provide guarantees in our provincial constitution for the collective rights of non-Francophones and ensure that this internal constitution could not itself be changed by the simple majority of just one chamber of the Legislature; other procedures would be necessary to provide a certain time for reflection, a cooling-off period, in short, to protect the minority. For we believe that it is the very essence of a constitution to protect certain rights against the passing whims or prejudices of a majority, whatever it may be.

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Turning to the federal area, it is easy to understand why we are so insistent that there be a written constitution so that these rights will not depend solely on the tolerance, the goodwill or even, at a given moment, the emotional state of public opinion. We therefore want a new constitution and we believe that it must contain the necessary machinery for amendment.

And in order to provide the flexibility which is desired, and justifiably so, by certain provinces such as Nova Scotia and British Columbia, to mention only two, we made a suggestion in our preliminary statement, under the heading "Distribution of powers", which to us seems extremely practical: the new constitution, like that of most other federations, should provide that the provinces or member-states of Canada retain all powers not expressly granted to the central government.

Right away, I can hear some people say: "But this is terrible. They want to destroy the authority of the federal government." If only these people would remember, in the United States, Australia, Switzerland and several other countries, all residual powers are under the jurisdiction of the states forming the federation.

In this way, by leaving residual powers to the provinces from the outset, we would have a better idea where the central government's jurisdiction begins or ends, and friction caused by encroachment from the centre would be greatly reduced.

Then, according to procedures still to be determined and developed, each province could delegate to the federal authority those powers of which it did not want to avail itself or did not care to exercise. It seems to me that this is the pragmatic way of adapting a new constitution and of providing that all provinces are not obliged to exercise all their powers.

In short, I have great difficulty in understanding the reasoning of certain provincial spokesmen. On the one hand, they say that all provinces must be treated on an exactly equal basis. But on the other hand, it is patently unrealistic to imagine that the province or provinces with the lowest population and resources want to and are able to exercise all these powers.

We fully understand that there should be voluntary delegation by these provinces to the central power, on terms agreed to by the two authorities; perhaps this might even be done more often, because we know how unrealistic it is to expect each and every province to have its own securities commission, for example, for each and every province to have its own deposit insurance system, its own pension plan. We agree with all these things at the outset, but we believe that the way to settle this problem of constitutional flexibility is to draft a new constitution. I know this is not an easy task;



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I know that certain amendments are urgently needed and we would agree, as we have in the past and with the unanimous consent of the Legislature, to allow these amendments, even under the present machinery, whenever their urgency is demonstrable. But we cannot accept in toto or, to be more precise, we cannot see what machinery we might consider advisable to adopt. We have heard several premiers say very clearly that they are satisfied with the present Constitution; if it had to be proclaimed in Canada and if, as I presume, unanimous agreement throughout Canada had to be obtained for any amendment, whatever its nature, we would obviously be paralyzed for a very long time in our present constitutional state.

As far as we are concerned, despite our readiness to co-operate in settling urgent problems, we do not feel we can accept any machinery whatsoever which would require unanimous consent, without a new constitution which will have effected a redistribution of powers between the provinces and the federal government. Please understand that this applies not only to powers relating to social and cultural questions, but also to those pertaining to economic and fiscal matters, for it is in this area that we now have a state of confusion bordering on chaos, that taxpayers are being penalized, and that the economic progress of the country and each province is jeopardized. Let's take just one example. Would the Carter Report have been what it is if it had been prepared in co-operation with the provinces? Would it be the scarecrow it is for several provinces if we had had the opportunity to work together? Asking the question is as good as answering it: if this report had resulted from deliberations between the federal government and the provinces, the latter would have accepted it by now - not in its present form, of course - and it could be implemented without the risks which will have to be taken in order to apply it - if and when that decision is reached. Mr. Chairman, we are therefore ready to co-operate on urgent measures, counting on co-operation by the other provinces on urgent measures of concern to Quebec; determined not to accept any universal and all but final machinery which would be general in its application, until such time as we can agree on the over-all constitutional problem. This will be a lengthy process, of course, and the people will require a lot of convincing, but without a new constitution it seems difficult to me to proceed otherwise. I apologize, Mr. Chairman, for speaking at such length, but I am concluding my remarks. I am one of those who put themselves in the perspective not of two, three or five years, but who look ahead twenty, thirty, forty or fifty years, for we cannot reconsider the problem in its entirety each decade. Now, in the world in which our children and grandchildren will live, this world which is steadily shrinking, it seems to me - and I do not want to be regarded as a dreamer - it seems to me that Canada's calling is not to continue in the same old rut, but to work resolutely towards the future, to provide a constitution which would be proclaimed in the name of the people - as forty-five countries have done since the end of the war - to provide binational and bicultural structures for all Canada in order that we, our children and our grandchildren will be able to co-operate with the whole



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English-speaking world in approximately fifty countries representing four or five hundred million people and, at the same time, using a second international language, another culture and all the resources of a great civilization, the French, co-operate with twenty-five countries encompassing over one hundred and fifty million people. It seems to me this would give Canada a new meaning, she would find an identity and be able to play the international role which was so widely discussed, and rightly so, during Expo '67. Mr. Chairman, I apologize for not sticking strictly to technical points, but in my opinion these must all be viewed in a much broader perspective than is afforded by day-to-day pragmatism, and I repeat, the Attorney-General of British Columbia can count on Quebec for urgent problems - the other provinces know they will always receive our co-operation in solving certain problems, but we would like to have theirs in eventually settling the whole problem, taking whatever time proves necessary.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

We approached this subject from a somewhat different point than the Prime Minister of Quebec. We in Ontario have always been very interested in what is considered to be a somewhat primary and basic matter and that is to have the power within our own country to amend our own Constitution.

In this regard, in the discussions which took place over a period of years, Ontario, as you are aware, was one of the provinces of Canada which did approve that particular formula in our Legislature. So I would say that we are in agreement with your basic premise, Mr. Bonner, that this is somewhat primary to the whole question of constitutional change in the country, although there may be some very basic issues involved which have been touched upon by the Prime Minister of Quebec.

We would like under this heading to explore some of the areas in which there might be considered changes in our federal system. There are some important observations I think should be made, against which any discussion like this should take place.

First, and I think this is obvious in the discussion here today, Confederation in the beginning was the result of a desire on the part of those provinces of Canada at the time that were involved to come together both to create conditions for their own development and progress; and also, to assure the unification of the northern half of the continent. It seems to me that when we get into these constitutional discussions we should bear in mind the two elements that seem to have emerged in this Conference to date: one of which is economic development and its effect upon people, the disparity of

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economic achievement or ability to develop in different parts of the country; that aspect, which has been discussed here, plus the more formal aspects of active changes in the Constitution.

Both of these factors seem to me to be involved in any constitutional discussion, because as I say, in the beginning the creation of Confederation had two purposes, one of which was, of course, development and progress, and the other was the unification of the northern half of the continent for political reasons.

Secondly, I would like to reiterate a point that I have made previously, and I don't make this point with any desire to limit the discussions here. I think it is necessary that we bear in mind what the objectives of this Conference are, that we are not here to arrive at definitive positions. We are here to lay before the people of Canada and their elected representatives the real choices which are open to us in the second half of this century and, as well, the thinking of the leaders of the various governments in these matters.

Thirdly, I would like to place very strong emphasis in these opening remarks on the point, as I did in our opening statement on Monday, that this province is very deeply committed to the view that the federal government holds the place of primacy among the governments of our country. I think that I would like to reiterate this point and set it up as a background, as something to remember in the discussions that follow.

In our opinion, the federal government is the only government we have in the country that can and is able to ensure our existence as a country, which can represent the best interests of all the people of Canada.

While we may very carefully and wisely seek to refashion its position, and while we may have these discussions here as to changes that might be made, we in Ontario do not put forth these ideas with any idea of undermining the position or the authority of the central government. We are simply exploring ways and means by which it, and some of its functions, might be altered. Indeed, some provincial functions might be altered in order to meet the changing conditions of 1967.

Of equal importance, this particular gathering and this Conference cannot reach really any firm conclusion on any of these points. We can do nothing more than discuss, for the very obvious reason that the federal government will necessarily have to be involved in any discussion that affects its position in any way. So I would make this very clear, that we here in this Conference, are unable to handle this matter alone. We are able to discuss it. We are able to exchange ideas. We are able to put points of view. But we really cannot do anything more than that without the involvement of the federal government.

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Perhaps some discussions with the federal government should not be too long delayed. That is another question. But I think we should make it very clear that in this meeting we cannot really reach conclusions.

I would like to say too that we should remember that the federal and the provincial governments of this country are not implacable adversaries. I believe this point has been touched upon earlier in this Conference. Sometimes I feel that we have developed a system of competition in the country between the federal and the provincial governments. I think this is very destructive of our total objectives.

We are in fact mutual partners engaged in a very profound search for the most effective way of dealing with the very complex problems which beset the people of this country.

This whole question of competition between governments has caused us in Ontario a great deal of concern. I sometimes feel that in competition for the taxpayer's favour and in spending the taxpayer's dollar we not only have competition between political parties, but we also have competition between levels of government. And this has led us, I think, in this country, into certain expenditure programs which might not have been in the best interests of the country generally.

I would make these general points: that as governments we really must co-operate. We must endeavour not to be competitive. We must remember that we are really in fact partners. We should anticipate that we will proceed and participate together, with joint objectives; to see what measure of consensus we possess or can establish, to see what positive steps we are able to take to examine our problems in greater detail in order that in future meetings and under perhaps different circumstances and with other mechanisms, we can determine what can be done about it.

Finally, I would go back to another remark I made in the opening statement, to the Province of Quebec, and that is that we are committed to really only one proposition here: and that is that change is upon us; and if the need is demonstrated for a specific application of certain mechanisms and certain ideas to deal with change, then we will do everything in our power to contribute to the finding of the solution to the problems caused by change.

I might say that I don't think Ontario necessarily searches or is anxious for a complete revision or a complete rewriting of the Constitution of Canada. I have made this statement before.

We don't from our point of view, see a necessity for a complete revision of the Constitution, a complete rewriting.



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I listened with great interest to Mr. Johnson's remarks and the reasons he put forth why he thinks this is so. This is not our thinking, but perhaps our circumstances are different.

On the other hand, I would say, as I have said before, Ontario has no fear or trepidation about change in the Constitution. If changes are necessary, if changes can be demonstrated to be necessary, then we are quite prepared to play our part and to examine them, even though they may not be matters which we think are of particularly large concern to us.

We are aware, of course, that there are changes necessary in particulars in the Constitution, one of which Mr. Bonner has discussed. The whole question of delegation we have gone into very carefully. I don't propose to go into the particulars of it. Probably I am not completely equipped or sufficiently expert in the constitutional field to do so.

But I would simply make the point that changes in our Constitution hold no fears for Ontario. We are quite prepared to face the fact that changes may be necessary, in fact we believe they will be necessary. But we don't necessarily subscribe to the point of view that we need to sit down and rewrite the whole Constitution.

I gave an example yesterday of the evolution of the treatment of French language instruction in the Province of Ontario. It was easy to see from that very brief historical outline that much can be done and has been done to adjust to changing circumstances, without the necessity of the formality of constitutional change. This may be a different philosophic approach to the whole problem of government, and it may be an approach suited to a set of circumstances and problems different from those in other parts of the country.

But we have been able to adjust many things in the Province of Ontario without finding it necessary to have specific constitutional change in order to achieve our objectives. This is part of the background of why we are not particularly wedded to the proposition of a rewriting of the Constitution.

I would say, in addition, it might seem to us that from a practical point of view, that to get any form of agreement on a complete rewriting of the Constitution would appear to us to be so difficult that we might be wise, Premier Johnson, to adopt what you said and give certain matters an element of such importance that they should be dealt with immediately, with the broader question of a complete rewriting to be dealt with at a later time. This might be a partial answer to our problem.

In considering the avenues of change open to us, there are many directions we might go. I have been discussing one which I think is very



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basic. If we need to redistribute powers, do we amend or do we rewrite? We think much can be done by amendment. We think rewriting poses enormous practical problems which might take a great deal more time than we in fact have available to us.

But I think that before any decision is reached - we are putting points of view here this morning - we should be very certain we have examined carefully these two alternatives that are open to us. Before we accept one, I think we should examine very carefully what is involved in the discarding of the other.

I think the technique of change, the method in which we cope with change, is very vital and must be examined very carefully before any decisions are reached.

What approach and what criteria should we use in discussing the possibility, even the possibility, of a different division of federal and provincial powers? Should the approach be for the federal and the provincial governments to outline precisely the powers which must be held exclusively by the federal government?

The suggestion has been made - and I think it is quite an ingenious suggestion - that the residual powers be left with the provinces and they in turn could delegate these powers to the federal government if they felt so inclined. But should we define what the federal powers are and then leave the residual powers to the provinces, or should we look through the provincial end of the telescope and do it the other way around? This is one of the immediate problems it seems to us we must examine and reach an opinion on as we deal with this problem.

The second question is the criteria we should use. Who should get what; the form of powers; and why? In any reforms, by locking matters exclusively under federal or provincial jurisdictions, are we running the risk that our history may repeat itself twenty or thirty or forty or fifty years from now? Will the governments in Canada have to come together again and say "Those people back in the 1960's locked us in so tightly that it doesn't fit in the situation of today". Or are we able to develop a sufficiently flexible method of allotting these powers so that we will not put ourselves perhaps in the position we are in today when, as has been stated here, these powers are in watertight compartments?

Without having any precise answers to these questions and really to put some points of view on matters which we have been thinking about in Ontario, I will make an attempt at suggesting some possible and perhaps exclusive areas of jurisdiction. I realize I run the risk of these being accepted as firm positions of the policy and intent of the Government of the Province of Ontario. I would say they are not. They are being put forward

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as a basis for thought and discussion. But they do represent the thinking that has been developed in our government circles.

First of all - and I think that this is borne out by some of the discussion we have had here today - the federal government must have power to contribute to equality of economic opportunity across the country. This is a point that is obviously of great concern in our country today.

We think, too, that we could never interfere with the power of the federal government to provide a basic minimum standard of public services to all Canadians. The federal government must be able to and must have power to make the term "Canadian" meaningful in terms of opportunity and public services of all kinds.

Of course there would be no question of the necessity for the federal government to have power over national defence; power over foreign affairs, perhaps except where such a matter might involve exclusively a cultural or commercial issue, the impact of which would be confined to one province only; power over tariffs; power to control monetary policies and adequate fiscal power to control the national economy; power to ensure the free movement of goods, free movement of labour within the country; power over national services - for example, airlines, railways, post office, communications - things of this nature that reach from coast to coast.

As far as the provinces are concerned - and perhaps through the provinces to the municipalities, because this is another area that we think needs some close examination - the provinces need power over matters which are of a strictly local nature, in which those powers are primarily exercised through these municipalities. The provinces must have power to provide direct services so that regional preferences and conditions can be satisfied; power to provide most of the social capital required for long-term economic growth - and in this regard I am speaking about highways, health, education, resources development; power over matters relating to language and culture.

These are just some of the areas which we have been discussing. I recognize that these lists are in no way complete. They do suggest some of the directions in which our thoughts might go.

There will inevitably be areas of overlapping and sharing. Some people suggest that we should attempt to get rid of the "grey" areas in our Constitution. I think that is much easier to say than to do, from a practical point of view, in operating governments across the country.

There is no question that the toughest problems of defining a division of powers capable of meeting the needs of the future will lie in being precise about economic and social matters and needs in our country.

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This is going to be the real difficulty when you go into these questions, as to how you are to precisely define the division of powers. I do not think that this is necessarily - in fact, I am certain it is not - a function nor a responsibility of this particular Conference. I think that this must be left to future conferences. Finally and inevitably, if it is to be done in whole or in part, it will fall to the draftsmen. This is where the difficulties really arise, when you have to become completely specific about these things. While there are no easy answers to these questions - the answers are not easy to find - there are a number of principles that we might put forward which should underlie any search that we make for answers to these questions.

First - and it is almost presumptuous in my thinking to make this point, but nonetheless I make it - that the powers of the federal government should not be so eroded as to call into question the very existence of our country. That to me is so fundamental that, as I say, I feel a little presumptuous when I say it, but it must be basic to any discussion we have.

Second, I would like to say that in these years, and as we have developed, there is increasing need for better communication and co-operation among all governments. This arises because of our ever-increasing interdependence, both the provinces with the federal government and the provinces with one another. While much can be done in this area without any constitutional changes - I believe you have touched on this, Mr. Johnson, in your remarks, to some extent - in fact, quite often in your remarks in the last two-and-a-half days, you have mentioned this question. It is something that we in Ontario have advanced very firmly on many occasions.

Canada today, the size of its governments and the power of its governments, whether we like it or not, have increased to the point where there must be a very high degree of interdependence and co-operation. We are trying to achieve this. I do not think that we have been as successful as we might. But in anything we do in discussing constitutional change, I think we have to bear in mind that there are extensive areas of action open to governments.

To give you an example, I think that either Quebec or Ontario with our present spending budgets - and, Mr. Smallwood, I am not boasting about this; I wish it were smaller, but here we sit with the facts of growth and we must deal with them - it occurs to us that without very close co-operation between either Quebec and the federal government or ourselves, or Quebec and Ontario and British Columbia and the other provinces, we could very easily defeat the intent of the federal government; or they could defeat our intent. We are now of a size that we have a very vast effect on one another. Our thinking in the area of co-operation between governments has not quite kept up with the facts.



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We have put this point of view at many federal-provincial conferences as a province and there are certainly steps being taken to deal with this situation. I do not think that the steps are broad enough. I have a feeling that the basic concept of what I am speaking about has not been completely accepted by everyone concerned. But the effect in the provinces of some of the decisions of the federal government can be immense. And the opposite is also true.

Decisions cannot be made without consultation. I do not think that there is a provincial leader here who could not give some example of decisions that were made that have had a very profound effect upon his province, and he has had no opportunity, really, to sketch out what the effect might be before the decision was taken.

Now this is away from the area of strict constitution-making or constitution-altering, but I put it forward as a very basic point in the consideration of any change we may be thinking about in the federal and provincial powers.

I think, too, that we must bear in mind that whatever we do and at whatever level, governments must be accountable to their particular electorates. This simply means that powers and responsibilities must be as evenly matched as possible.

Fourth, in dealing with these matters, I think we must bear in mind, too, that every attempt has to be made to provide public services with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of cost. And with the layers of government that we have in this country - this has not always been true in the past, and I believe, Mr. Johnson, that you have also pointed this out - there is waste in public administration because of our levels of government. This is a very basic problem in our minds and a very basic position that we must consider when we are thinking in terms of any reform or change.

Any changes we make - and I come back in this point, perhaps, to discussion of delegation of powers which I found very interesting this morning - must be sufficiently flexible to cope with changing circumstances. This, perhaps, is why we are having this discussion - a recognition of changing circumstances. Anything we do must anticipate that the circumstances with which we are dealing today are bound to, and inevitably will, change.

We must also be sufficiently flexible to provide for a variety of relationships between each province and the federal government. You, Mr. Johnson, put forward the suggestion this morning as to how this might be done in the delegation of powers from the provinces back to the federal government. That is one suggestion, and there are others. The whole basic premise of delegation of powers is designed to provide a wide variety of relationships



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between each province and the federal government to suit the needs of each province, be they economic, be they cultural, be they linguistic.

For instance, Mr. Bonner, fortunately, or unfortunately, we do not get involved in the off-shore mineral rights because the only thing we have to deal with is Hudson Bay, and that poses a few questions as well. I believe that legally it is considered to be an inland water, although I think you could find some doubts as to the authenticity of that particular theory. However, I will not go into that.

There are a great variety of situations in our country from coast to coast, and anything we do must permit us to develop a variety of different relationships between different areas or provinces of the country and the federal government. We must also try to ensure that any variations from desirable or normal standards must not be so great as to widen regional disparities. So there must be some limitation on how wide the variations may be from what is a normal Canadian standard.

The next point is, as I have mentioned, that there must be provision for delegation of powers. I would think that in any provision we make, I think we would all be agreed that we may not be able to agree on the form the changes would take.

Certainly there is a great necessity for the ability of various provinces to delegate to the federal government, and for the federal government to delegate to them. This will give us a high degree of flexibility. We must also be able to encourage special forms of co-operation and co-ordination between different regions of the country. This really means we must have some means of permitting provinces, too, to group together if they find it necessary in their common interests.

If we can adhere to some of these principles, and no doubt there are many others that go through other people's minds, I would think that we might be in a position to meet some of the changing needs and the chief concerns that have been expressed at this Conference.

We need - as I get the sense of the discussion here - to narrow regional disparities. We need to make it possible for the fact of being a Canadian to be completely meaningful to all our people. We want to make it possible for Canadians, as the common expression of this particular problem has come to be put, to feel at home in any part of the country that they may be in. And much more, of course, than what we have done here is required.

It seems to me that we in this meeting can perhaps get some philosophical awareness of the aims and aspirations of all parts of the country. The actual writing of any constitution must inevitably be the

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final and last function. Everything must be done very completely before you ever get to the point of writing. I wouldn't want to be the one to attempt to reconcile in the English language some of the points of view that we have in our country. But, I think a great deal can be done to assist the situation in Canada today if we have a much higher degree of co-operation between our governments. I spoke of this at some length, particularly in regard to our relationships with the federal government.

I am firmly of the opinion that a great deal can be done without necessarily writing a new constitution or indeed altering the provisions of our present Act. But this is going to require a great breadth of understanding among our people, a recognition of desires and wishes, and deep personal feelings beyond our own region, beyond the particular environment in which we are comfortable and which we may be used to.

If we can have some wider breadth of feeling, it may not be necessary to look to an alteration in the formal Constitution as the only solution of our problems.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, I have listened, as I am sure all of us have, with a great deal of interest to what you have just said. You have underscored the complexity of the matters that we have to deal with in arriving at workable and acceptable arrangements in these various fields, and also their very close relationship to the whole question of the constitutional issues in Canada today.

On the latter point, perhaps we can clarify our thinking by recognizing we only have a choice between three positions as far as the constitutional issues are concerned.

We can endeavour to resolve our present national problems within the status quo of the Constitution, the framework of the Constitution as it now is; we can give consideration to certain amendments to the Constitution, particularly with the introduction of the greater flexibility that could come through powers of delegation as was outlined this morning by the Attorney-General of British Columbia; or there is the third approach, which was outlined by the Prime Minister of Quebec, which involves the complete writing of a new constitution for Canada.

I listened with not only deep interest but, frankly, with very deep concern, to some of the points made by the Prime Minister of Quebec. If it

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is the inflexible conclusion of the Government of Quebec and those for whom they speak that nothing less than a complete rewriting of the Constitution of Canada will suffice to meet their concerns and legitimate interests in these matters - if that is the position - it really reduces to an academic discussion the questions of what might be done under the present Constitution, or what revisions of the present Constitution might properly be considered to make possible a solution of our problems.

Naturally, I wouldn't presume to debate the many considerations that have undoubtedly led the Prime Minister of Quebec to the very firm conviction and sincerely-held conclusion that he expressed to us not only this morning but at previous times in this Conference. But we must recognize constantly the one cardinal rule that what is held to be desirable must be reconciled with what is attainable in a free and democratic society. If we get away from that premise, I submit we inevitably will get ourselves into an impasse that can be very, very serious.

The Prime Minister of Quebec outlined that in the matter of the previously-proposed amendments, or amending formula to the Canadian Constitution that was known as the Fulton-Favreau formula, that it was not the Government of Quebec which rejected this, but rather the consensus of opinion on the part of the people of Quebec as a whole. This is certainly borne out by the fact that the then Government of Quebec, at the time of the final meetings of the attorneys-general, concurred, and also concurred in the federal-provincial conference to which the attorneys-general made their report.

But I suggest by the same token, no matter what views or even conclusions we might arrive at around this or other tables, where the governments of Canada are represented, in the last analysis it is the consensus of the Canadian people, as a whole, which will decide whether it is possible, or even desirable, to write a new constitution, and what will be the form and the content of that constitution.

It is my sincere belief that in the present Canadian context it is not realistic - and I am only repeating what I have said before - it is not realistic to think that a sufficient measure of agreement could be obtained among the Canadian people to make possible at this time the writing of a new constitution for Canada. It is obvious that if we attempted such a course, and failed to get the required public acceptance of either the form or content of a wholly new Canadian constitution, we would have created in Canada a situation far more serious than anything that prevails today.

At a time when our major concern is the unity of Canada as a nation, the worst thing we could do would be to take any steps which would divide



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the Canadian people into warring camps over what should be the form, or the content, of a new constitution, and end up without the concurrence needful to attain the goal but with all the wounds that would be created in the process.

I stress this, Mr. Chairman, to underscore the seriousness of the implications of a course of this kind.

Throughout this Conference and in many discussions across Canada, the great emphasis in recent years has been placed on the conclusion that there is need for a very fundamental change in our Constitution. This has been emphasized to a degree which has obscured consideration of the value of continuity in the growth and progress of a nation such as Canada.

While it has been made quite clear at this Conference and in many other discussions that no one regards the Fathers of Confederation as being omniscient, in fairness to them I think we all acknowledge that they built better than they knew. This is borne out by the fact that a hundred years after the Constitution was drafted, it is still in existence, which is a record with which not many constitutions can compete.

It is equally true that within the broad national objectives which dictated the form and content of the Constitution designed in 1867, there are still many broad national objectives which are of mutual concern to all areas and provinces of Canada, which we have not yet as a nation attained. In other words, we haven't exhausted and completed the national development of this country, even in the areas of mutual concern by regions or provinces, that were considerations in the minds of the Fathers of Confederation, and evidenced in the form and content of the Constitution as drawn.

Does this not indicate that within that framework there is still a great deal of room for us as a nation to achieve many of those things which have yet to be achieved? Even though there undoubtedly are very valid reasons for new matters being introduced as a result of the fact we are now entering our second century instead of our first, what I have said, I submit, emphasizes the value of keeping the element of continuity which does not need to be destroyed by the interjection of certain new factors, but which could be destroyed by scrapping everything and starting all over again in the present context.

Coming back to the proposal of the Attorney-General of British Columbia - the agreement which was arrived at in the formula for constitutional amendment and domicile in Canada - none of us who attended those conferences, I think I would be correct in saying, felt that the ultimate had been reached or that this was an absolutely ideal revision of the Constitution or even an ideal amending formula.



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But I submit that what has transpired since bears out the contention that the agreement reached at that time was unique. It was not only unique in itself but it was unique in time. I doubt very much if you could reach that agreement in Canada today. And this, of course, is why I, for one, very sincerely regret that when we were so close to a constitutional revision which would not have destroyed the continuity of our traditions, we failed in the last step of getting this greater flexibility in the Constitution through the provisions for delegation as well as the amending formula.

It would seem reasonable to take the position that when you have major problems, if you can break these down and resolve them one by one, which is really what you do when you make use of an amending formula or even the principle of delegation, your chances of success are substantially greater than they are if you lump them all together as one problem and attempt to resolve them by rewriting the whole constitution.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, the point I am trying to make is this. With the greatest respect for the very real problems and the many considerations which have led the Prime Minister of Quebec to arrive at the conclusion that only by the writing of a whole new constitution are our present national problems and the legitimate concerns of the people for whom he speaks to be met - with the greatest respect for his position, I submit that there is a need to weigh the practical possibility of arriving at a solution by that course. If what is held to be desirable is not possible of attainment, and my submission is it is impossible, then surely the course of wisdom is to face that fact and break this problem down and resolve the parts one by one within a framework that is flexible enough to permit a solution.

That would be my very earnest appeal to this Conference at this time.

Hon. Mr. Smith:

Mr. Chairman, I have the very greatest respect for the views of the Premier of Alberta, based as they are upon his very long experience and upon his obvious deep understanding of people.

But I wonder if we should be so pessimistic as to now take the decision that it is not possible for us or for some other group of people to agree upon changes which would be acceptable to the people in Canada. He may well be right, and in view of his great record for being right, I would think the chances he is now are substantial.

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Nevertheless, surely we should not assume that that is an impossible task until we have carefully and fairly, and indeed, sympathetically explored the position to see if that is the inevitable conclusion. I doubt if we have explored it sufficiently to date to allow us to reach that conclusion with any reasonable degree of certainty.

It seems to me, as I said yesterday, that if we conclude that there are millions of citizens of this country who are really unhappy about the conditions in which they live and if they believe those conditions are contributed to or caused by the Constitution, if this is so, then it seems we should go a very long way to find out whether we cannot alleviate that unhappiness by dealing with the thing which they believe causes or contributes to it.

We may find after the most careful and thorough-going search that there is an obstacle which we cannot pass. But I say again, is it wise to assume now that that obstacle will necessarily and inevitably be met?

I would like to emphasize that Nova Scotia, in common with a number of other provinces believes that a strong central government is vitally necessary.

But that does not mean that no changes can be made. That does not mean that we must assume in advance that to keep the Government of Canada in the position in which we want, to keep ourselves in the position in which we want as provinces to be, things must remain as they are.

There is nothing repugnant to me, at least, in the idea that a written constitution, covering a much wider area and more fully dealing with the problems we all realize we face, should be considered. Nothing repugnant to me in that at all.

Nor do I find anything, for instance, repugnant in the idea that the constitution should provide, clearly, protection for our minority groups, wherever they may be.

And the thought of leaving residual powers in the provinces and not in the federal government may be somewhat difficult to accept, but again are we so sure that this is a bad thing, or that some method of alleviating the difficulties we foresee could not be found?

Are we so sure of that, that we should at once say we cannot examine the possibilities?

It seems to me that while we in Nova Scotia do not find too much wrong with the present Constitution, we should not take the position that

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because that is the way we find things, there is no reason for us to search with others for changes which will accommodate their needs.

And in that belief, I say again it seems to me that the proposal of the Prime Minister of Quebec, while it may not at once appear to us as a course we would like to follow, has been put forward in a reasoned way, in a way which convinces me that those who put it forward believe it is something that can be accepted by others if it will be examined with care, and with sympathy.

I do not suggest for a moment that we should say in advance, let us accept it, but I do suggest we should not say in advance, let us reject it. I suggest we should say, it ought to be examined carefully and in detail at an appropriate time.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, I would like to correct one wrong impression I may have given.

I am not arguing for one moment against change in the Constitution. There is nothing sacred about the B.N.A. Act.

I am not opposed to the B.N.A. Act being altered drastically, if those alterations are desirable and acceptable to the Canadian people.

The point I endeavoured to make related to the process of arriving at that objective. I want to see these legitimate interests and concerns of the people for whom Prime Minister Johnson speaks met, and met fully.

My submission is their concern is in the results much more than in the road by which you arrive at the desired goal, and if we are going to choose the road of scrapping our present Constitution and rewriting the whole thing, our chances of reaching the goal that is desired are substantially less than if we take these problems one by one.

If this requires a constitutional amendment, let's make it. Let us not let the Constitution stand in the way of meeting the legitimate needs and concerns of the Canadian people.

But I submit that a provision which cannot be obtained by a revision or amendment to the Constitution - and when I say cannot be obtained, I mean



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its acceptance by the people of Canada as a whole - is not going to be accepted by the Canadian people, merely by reason of the fact that it was written into a new constitution rather than proposed as an amendment to the existing one.

This was the point that I was endeavouring to make.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

I hope that I did not convey the impression to Mr. Manning or anybody else that we want to scrap everything that is now in the Constitution. We made the point very clearly - at least I feel we did, in our preliminary statement, or in my opening statement - that we didn't want to start from zero and throw away what has worked basically for the last hundred years.

I told some newspapermen, and I might as well say it here, that some people in my own province have a notion they could first divorce, then marry the same woman and have the same marriage contract, or even a better marriage contract with the same woman.

Well I would rather sit down with you, and then the federal government and try to see if we could not amend that marriage contract without going all through the hardships and the explosive dangers of divorcing and not being sure that the spouse wouldn't meet somebody else.

In short, while this may be a rather vulgar comparison, it is clear and goes to the root of the problem. Some would like to obtain a divorce right away, then try to remarry with a more advantageous marriage contract. But there is the danger that the wife would not care to remarry the same man and, secondly, that she would be less liberal in the contract terms.

We believe - and this is the reason for our being here and for the position we are taking - that it is better to talk things over with our spouse and try to find a means of agreeing upon better conditions and perhaps obtaining greater freedom of expression, greater expression of our personality.

I do not want to push the comparison any further; it could lead me to extremely dangerous ground and words that the CBC might have to censor.

So, I would not want to give the impression that we want to start with a clean slate. But to use terminology that we legislators know well, let's say that we could make a whole series of amendments, consolidate the



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resulting text and ask the people to approve it. Rightly or wrongly, I have the feeling that several of my listeners imagine I would like to set the old constitution aside, ignoring all the provisions it contains, and start writing a new one. In fact, many of the provisions in our present Constitution are still valid.

There are of course a whole series of provisions which are anachronistic, archaic and - let's not delude ourselves - which our young people do not accept.

This is all I wanted to say. I apologize for interrupting again, but I had to make this point clear and also to thank those, like Mr. Smith, who do not close the door. And it is my impression that even Mr. Manning does not close the door. It is a question of procedures.

Right or wrong, I am convinced that Canada's youth, both English- and French-speaking, would like to tackle the job of studying our Constitution. Let's not have any illusions. Canada's big problem, as I see it, is that we have never had a common purpose. Elsewhere, wars have been unifying factors for the federated country. Make no mistake, our two wars have not served to unite us, and it is a wonder that we were able to survive those two crises. We have never had a bloody revolution, as some countries have, nor do we want one. We have not, like the United States, had an uprising against the mother country, which united to a rather remarkable degree the thirteen colonies and the states which were added later. We have had none of these great common endeavours. Recently and on a much smaller scale, we had Expo '67, and anyone who had a hand in organizing it will tell you that it was a mutual discovery, how the French-speaking group working together with the English-speaking group was able to produce something which was different, greater, more impressive, a revelation not only to our neighbours to the south, but to almost every country in the world.

This is just a sample of what we could do if we set ourselves to a common task, and my personal impression is that young English-speaking Canadians as well as French-speaking Canadian youth wish they could find such an endeavour in which to engage together. Why not trust them? Why not invite them to study the Constitution, give us their suggestions, form constitutional clubs in each university? We could listen to them and then try, by amendments and later perhaps by consolidation, to proclaim in Canada a constitution made by Canadians for Canadians and proclaimed in the name of the people. It seems to me that this is the course for the future; even though the venture entails a few risks, I am ready to take them in an attempt to help the people improve the marriage contract without getting a divorce, without a legal separation.

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Hon. Mr. Smith:

May I just say a word. I regret very much that I have to leave for Nova Scotia in another hour or so, and by way of explanation, may I say that it is because a special session of the Legislature is beginning on Friday to deal with a problem of the most urgent and difficult importance to us, namely the Dosco Steel plant in Sydney. I make this explanation so no one will think I leave because of disinterest or any disenchantment. I would like to say that I think so far, from our point of view anyway, this has been a very, very helpful and useful occasion. Mr. Donahoe will head the delegation and he will continue to have with him those who are here now, including two other ministers. I am sure at the end of the Conference he will adequately and eloquently express the views of Nova Scotia.

In the meantime, I thank you and regret very much that I must now go.

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AFTERNOON SESSION

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Gentlemen, before we proceed into the afternoon session, I would like to make a small addition to the remarks I made this morning and perhaps to give you one or two impressions of what came after my remarks, and, perhaps, expand just a little on some of the things I said this morning.

If I did not say it directly this morning, I can only say that I completely agree with Premier Smith who, unfortunately, has left for Nova Scotia, when he said that the country is more important than the British North America Act. That remark made a rather deep impression on me and I would like to say how thoroughly I agree with him. If, to ensure the survival of the country, we need to look at the British North America Act in perhaps a broader way than I mentioned this morning, I simply say we should not be in any way afraid or fearful of that prospect.

I was very interested to hear Prime Minister Johnson's remarks when he said that writing a new constitution did not mean starting from zero, did not mean that we would perforce and as a prerequisite throw away what is presently there, that many of the valuable practices and institutions that have been built into that Act over the years would remain. I suppose, really, if we think about it in this way - how many of us, truly, have read the British North America Act in its entirety, have read all the sections of it, and have any real, clear idea of how many of them are truly operative in today's world; how many of them are simply there and not operative, and of very little significance?

Perhaps we would find, if we made such an examination, that certain parts of it are completely obsolete and bear little relationship to the events of today. It may be that in an attempt to bring it up to date, which I said this morning we do not fear and wouldn't back away from, we might find that the point of view put forward by Quebec might have some merit. In any event, as was said by Mr. Smith so well, we shouldn't rule out the possibility. I wouldn't want my remarks this morning to be interpreted in any way as putting forth the point that we, in Ontario, would rule out such a possibility.

I believe the Hon. Mr. Campbell has some comments he would like to make on the subject with which we were dealing this morning. Then we will straighten out the procedures in the agenda for the balance of this Conference. Mr. Campbell.



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Hon. Mr. Campbell:

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

There were two points included in your remarks earlier this morning, Mr. Chairman, with which I feel compelled as spokesman for Prince Edward Island, the smallest province of Canada, to state our concurrence.

The first was the point dealing with the position of the federal government in the Canadian family. Prince Edward Island indeed concurs with your statement, and the statement of other provinces, to the effect that the federal government must continue to have "a place of primacy" - I think these were your words, Sir - "in the Canadian context." To us, this would mean that the federal government would enjoy and would have the necessary fiscal and monetary strength to be in a position to outline policies designed to help each of the regions, each of the provinces of Canada.

The second point with which I would like to state our concurrence has to do with the question of constitutional changes.

From the standpoint of the people of Prince Edward Island, I might suggest that we do not believe that constitutional changes are necessary to accommodate the special need and the special desires of the people of Prince Edward Island.

But we qualify that statement by admitting, by saying and by confirming, that if it is in the national interest to review the Constitution as it is now, then we are quite prepared to enter into that review, and to be a party to the deliberations. This is of course the reason why I endeavoured to obtain a more precise definition of the points of view expressed by the Province of Quebec. Because we indeed are prepared to examine and to study the special problems of Quebec in this environment and to consider those constitutional changes which will likely be necessary to accommodate the special needs of Quebec, if we are to hold them in the family of Canadian provinces in the future context of Canada.

There are other special items which I think I might discuss more appropriately under the heading of federal-provincial relationships, Mr. Chairman, but I do recall as well your statement about the desirability of allowing flexibility, to enable regional co-operation in Canada.

And although I can presume to speak for the Atlantic provinces as their official spokesman, I should like to say that the Atlantic provinces have, as recently as last weekend, explored the various modes, methods and possibilities of co-operation as a region. Referring to the Maritimes, of course, I include New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. We have agreed to the name of an outstanding Canadian, whom we propose to approach with a view to his serving as chairman of a committee or commission to look into the merits of a possible Maritime union, in the sense of a political union.



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But from my point of view, equally important was the decision taken by the Maritime premiers that we also institute - and this we have done - specific steps to determine those areas where we may advantageously co-ordinate the economic planning and development of the Maritime provinces.

I think through these steps we disclose a determined effort to make the best use of our joint efforts and our joint resources in dealing with the very difficult Canadian problems. This, I suggest, is an answer to the many people in other parts of Canada who ask the question, whether or not it might not be in the best interests of the Maritime provinces to get together.

We want to explore these possibilities and we want to find out for ourselves whether they in fact offer realistic solutions to our present constitutional existence.

With these remarks, Mr. Chairman, I think that later on, as I have suggested, another opportunity will be afforded me to expand on some of the ideas which I have with respect to federal-provincial relationships and the means by which Prince Edward Island, as one of the Maritime provinces, can hope to achieve economic development without necessarily involving constitutional changes.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Mr. Chairman, I am obliged to leave here shortly, but before going I would like to say a word or two.

First, if I may do it without the thought to be presumptuous, or condescending, or anything of that nature, I would like to say that I have, for one, and I am sure we have all of us in this Conference, premiers and others, been tremendously impressed, favourably impressed by our colleague, the Premier of Quebec.

I have been attending conferences, admittedly not of the premiers of the ten provinces, but Dominion-provincial, federal-provincial conferences now for 18 years.

The veteran, of course, is our colleague, Ernest Manning. He has been attending them for closer to 30 years, but I am next to him - for about 18 years, and I do not recall any conference that I have attended where any member of it created so highly favourable a personal impression as Mr. Johnson has done; I want to say that.

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He has, I am sure - I am quite sure - been the means of creating a lot of good will for himself, his delegation and his province. You can't help liking him - but don't hold that against me!

I am so eager as a new Canadian - 18 years old - not to say a word or a syllable that would in any degree damage the prospects of Canadian unity. We Newfoundlanders regard our Canadian citizenship as a very precious thing, a very special privilege and we value it; we prize it dearly.

If I have any personal concern during this Conference, it is that we might agree, out of a friendly feeling, to a position that could end, not in encouraging and helping, but damaging the Canadian unity.

Surely there is no one in Canada so lacking in knowledge as to cause him not to see that in Quebec there are 6 million or 7 million people - almost a third of all Canada - who have had a history and a tradition to which they have clung with a tenacity which is most impressive; a people who have a devotion to their own culture and to their own language and historical traditions that you cannot help but admire.

Surely all Canadians will be willing that any changes that are really necessary - that are really necessary and no more; only those that are genuinely necessary - in the Constitution to assure even more than they are now assured - if they be necessary - these distinctive rights and traditions and characteristics that fellow Canadians whose mother tongue is French prize so dearly. No one is going to begrudge that, but I have to repeat that I for one - and I am sure all Newfoundland and suspect that a great many other people in Canada, and in Quebec - will oppose any attempt to remake Canada in another image, unless you are talking about a better standard of living - better hospitals, better schools, better roads, better conveniences and better opportunities for all Canadians born in Canada, anywhere and everywhere in Canada.

Unless you are talking about remaking Canada's image around those lines, I must continue to oppose any changes in the Constitution or any rewriting of it, or any substitution of a new constitution for the present one that would end with this result; that where now there are ten provinces as you said, Mr. Chairman, in a turn of speech which I welcomed in my heart more than I have done anything in a long time; we meet here, you said, as co-equal entities; ten provinces co-equal - the big ones and the little ones, the rich ones and the poor ones; those where the predominant language is English and those where the predominant language is French; ten co-equal entities.

I don't mind changes in the Constitution that will leave Canada a federal union of ten co-equal entities but I am opposed - and I think overwhelmingly the majority of Canadians are opposed and I would suspect that

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even in Quebec a majority are opposed - to any change in the nature of Canada that would result in our having nine co-equal entities, nine provinces co-equal; and one other, namely Quebec, which would be something perhaps between a nation, Canada, and a province. Not a province, yet not a country.

Give Quebec gladly, generously everything she needs to allow her to be herself - and if you have to change the Constitution to do that, let's not hesitate to do it - but let's not change the Constitution to reduce the number of provinces. Increase if you like; take in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon if you like, but don't reduce the number unless it be done voluntarily; as friend Campbell says, maybe the three old Maritimes will see the wisdom of merging into one province; a miracle might happen, Newfoundland might see the wisdom of then applying for admission to that new merged larger province, I don't know. That's voluntary, not by constitutional change, and not by rewriting the Constitution.

Now I can't be a hypocrite in the matter. This is what I feel. Mr. Johnson has made an heroic and a noble and an extremely skilful effort here in low pressure, conciliatory approach and manner and tone that has made friends of us all; those of us that weren't friends - if there were any - before. I was one before. But I can't be a hypocrite and say that I want something that I don't want and indeed I dislike. I can't say that.

So I say in conclusion that I'll go along with any fair, reasonable, rational, sensible changes that may be necessary in the Constitution, if there be any, if any be necessary. I am not too sure of that; I sort of doubt it. I seriously doubt that any are really necessary to entrench even more than they are entrenched the Quebec people's, the noble Quebec people's right to be themselves.

If, however, that means that they have got to have a better economic deal, I am all for that. If it means a better system of equalization of Canada's wealth, I am all for that, because we benefit from that too. If it means, however, setting up a semi-state, a semi-nation among Canada's ten provinces, I am against it unless all ten are made the same. And if all ten are made the same, I am also against it, because that is the end of Canada.

Now, I am due in a few minutes to where I am going; I am going into one of your magnificent Toronto hospitals.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

We are glad it's there available for you.



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Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

I am going in there now for a little operation tomorrow morning on one of my eyes, and if I had thought this might run into the wrong doctors, I would have been frightened speechless. But, you can see I am not speechless - really frightened, but not that frightened. But, according to what I hear, the thing is so easy, so simple, that I am practically looking forward to this operation tomorrow morning at eight o'clock.

My colleague, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Hickman, will take my place, and he will be very, very ably backed indeed, by my colleague, the Minister of Health, Mr. Crosby, and by the President of the Council; our Council is such a busy thing that we divide the duties between the premier and another minister. We have a separate President of the Council in the person of the Hon. Mr. Curtis, and they will be here to the pleasant end of the Conference. So, let me just listen another while and slip out quietly to my destiny.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Smallwood pays me so many compliments that he is likely to make me blush "liberally" - yet "red" is a hue which is politically taboo as far as I am concerned in Quebec.

Mr. Smallwood, I do appreciate your attitude towards Quebec, but may I just tell you one thing. After this Conference, I might feel like you after the first referendum in Newfoundland on joining Canada. I will come back again and I hope the next time I will win a little more than I did on the first referendum.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

I would like to say to you, Mr. Smallwood, when you leave to undergo the ordeal that lies ahead of you, you may rest assured that the best wishes of all of your colleagues and friends here go with you.

Gentlemen, we are coming to the end of this Conference and in examining the agenda I find that we are now in the topics listed under the fourth session. And the next, the fifth session, really was supposed to have been this morning, was "Ways in which the Federal System could be Improved"; the sixth session, which was to have been this afternoon, is



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"The Machinery and Structure of Federal-Provincial and Interprovincial Relationships in Canada."

I think we do want to reserve the time tomorrow morning so that the leaders of the delegations will have an opportunity to pick up any loose ends - if I may put it that way - of the discussions of these four days, plus any comments they may wish to make concerning the Conference as a whole. There will also be some discussion about what may happen to the Conference and the results of it, and I think we would like to reserve tomorrow morning for that. For the balance of this afternoon, may I suggest that we telescope the sixth, fifth and fourth sessions. Please feel free to deal with any subject that sits within any one of these three topics of this very informal agenda within which we have been operating.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Mr. Chairman, I don't know if this group is sufficiently competent to put pressure upon Ottawa so that the shared programs, the shared-cost programs, between Ottawa and the provinces could be made available in a different form. That is, that they would be available, or that the fiscal equivalent would be available to all the provinces. And, when I talk about this, I think of one example, the fund available to all provinces for vocational and trade-training facility construction.

New Brunswick at the present time has a fund available in Ottawa of \$34,000,000. We have built over the last seven years seven or eight trade schools, trade or technical-training schools. But despite that, we still have a fund available for vocational or technical trade training in New Brunswick of \$34,000,000. We would like to have it, and we would like to use it to either build hospitals or other types of schools, or maybe roads, or maybe something else. But it is there in Ottawa.

And what, at the present time, are the terms of Quebec's request to Ottawa? They are nothing more than just this; give us the services or else the equivalent in dollars.

I don't see anything dramatic or drastic about the demands of the Government of Quebec upon the Canadian nation, or the Canadian country. We are asking, in New Brunswick, for exactly the same thing. We are asking, for instance, that this \$34,000,000 that we have in a certain place in Ottawa be made available to New Brunswickers for whatever priority New Brunswickers would decide that this should be assigned to. We are not asking for anything more than that, and I don't think the Province of Quebec is asking for anything more than that.

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I am thinking of medicare, for instance. This is a very delicate field to get into at this stage, I fully appreciate that, but suppose that the Province of Ontario, or the Province of Alberta, and the Province of British Columbia, and all the other provinces, would elect not to implement medicare at this stage. And Ottawa would decide medicare is going to become a reality as of the first of July, 1968, and some provinces don't want it. Can we have the money? From Ottawa? Should we not have the money or the fiscal equivalent, as the expression was used very frequently in the past - should we not have the fiscal equivalent?

If we want medicare, if our people want medicare, O.K., take the money from Ottawa to implement medicare. But should Ottawa be in a position to dictate to the provinces "either you have medicare or you will not have any money toward medical services"? I don't think that is right; I am not too sure that this is the proper place to express these opinions. I have expressed them before in other dealings; I simply want to repeat them.

I know that the government in Ottawa is Liberal and I am a Liberal. Now, I don't want to attack them. This is a policy of Ottawa, and it has been over the years. I think that we should have, as provincial administrations, the prerogative of determining the order of priorities in our spending, whether the money spent comes from the taxpayer of our province or from the federal treasury (which is of course our own money because we are all Canadians). That is the only point I wanted to make.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Mr. Bonner, did you have a comment to make?

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

Mr. Prime Minister, I won't endeavour to pursue any of the topics raised by the Prime Minister of New Brunswick because at least one of them has been recently aired at the national level and, presumably, is in that plane of discussion with the appropriate provincial ministers. I think, in line with a general topic raised either directly or impliedly by the Prime Minister of Quebec, having to do with fiscal access in the context of Dominion-provincial sharing, we might consider it appropriate to devote a

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few moments to the potentialities, from the standpoint of the provincial government, of the implementation of the Carter Commission recommendations in the field of income tax.

I believe it is a legitimate point to raise, at least for gaze if not discussion, in the light of the fact that we share by agreement so heavily in the cultivation of these fields; to change the income tax at the national level in line with some of the proposals which have been put forward by this Commission is, in effect, to require the provinces which are cultivating tax fields on their own responsibility to go along with the principles involved, or face the alternative of having one set of principles in application at the federal level and a totally different set of principles in application at the provincial level. In any event, even where double taxation by somewhat different modes of taxation is not in effect, certainly it seems to me that the provinces who have deferred cultivating their provincial fields of taxation in favour of relying upon the federal statute, have, in the light of that fact, a concurrent interest in whatever reform is proposed at the national level with respect to corporate and personal income tax.

And it may be that we are all opposed to these measures. I am not trying to imply a judgement on behalf of anyone else. The Premier and Minister of Finance of our province have said certain harsh things about the Carter Commission recommendations and it may be, if these views are shared in any degree or advanced in some degree but in opposition to the Carter Commission recommendations, that we ought to say so now, and make known to those who are following this Conference in a more public way, some of the reservations which I think may properly be raised about the wholesale implementation of the Carter Commission recommendations at this time.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Thank you, Mr. Bonner.

Are there some other contributions that anyone would like to make to this rather wide range of topics that we have in front of us?

For the first time in these proceedings to date we seem to have come into a ...

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Hon. Mr. Johnson:

I am just withholding in case somebody would like to talk.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Mr. Campbell, have you some comments you would like to make?

Hon. Mr. Campbell:

I'm just getting some thoughts together, Mr. Chairman. I'm glad I didn't kill the discussion. I'd hate to think there was not a politician present who did not have a few words to add at a given point in the proceedings.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

It in fact seems to be the case.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Following the remarks that I made I received a cheque addressed to me for \$34,000,000. The signature is unintelligible, but on the back I read "from federal observers with pleasure". (Laughter)

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

I think today British Columbia may have done a little better in getting its \$12,000,000 from the United States Government.



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Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

I hope this can be construed as a recognition of the point that I wanted to make. Provinces should be allowed to determine the order of priorities in their spending from the money that is available from Ottawa. This is what I am asking here. This is what I asked in the past. And this is what I am going to continue to ask in the future.

Hon. Mr. Campbell:

Well, Mr. Chairman, now that New Brunswick has been fixed up it remains for Prince Edward Island to make its bid. I have a few comments to make with respect to relationships between Prince Edward Island, in fact the Maritime provinces, and the federal government in the context of its dealings and participation in national and regional programs and policies. And in this respect I suppose I may claim a special status for the Maritime provinces; there seems to be general consensus expressed here that those living in the Maritime provinces earn incomes which are much below the national average, and farther below the average of the wealthier provinces.

I am quite aware of the feeling that is expressed in various parts of Canada: "What do the Maritimes ask for? And what more do they want?" A great long list of concessions since Confederation is usually cited as an example of the fair treatment which the people of Canada have given to these Maritime provinces. I have often heard as an example the fact that Prince Edward Island has four members of Parliament and four senators. What else could they ask for? What fairer treatment could be given to such a small province and to so few people?

But the fact remains that, although we have been very fortunate in the excellent calibre of the men and women who have filled these positions, this alone has not solved the problems of our province. And I think that we are going to have to look at the Maritime provinces and attach to them some extra special consideration and some very determined effort in the next ten to fifteen years, if we are going to realistically attack and solve many of the chronic problems which exist there. Because I can assure you that the bulk of the Maritimers are not going to leave the Maritime provinces. Should there be an economic depression or some regional catastrophe, you will appreciate that those who have been educated and those who have been professionally trained can more easily move and be accommodated in society in other parts of Canada. But the regrettable result would be that those who are not in a position to be assimilated and taken into the society which we find in central and other parts of Canada, will in all likelihood remain in the Maritime provinces and the problem will become even more depressing.

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Now, as I suggested, many of the approaches which have been conscientiously designed failed to come to grips with the economic problems of Atlantic Canada. I would like to examine for a minute some of the problems of the national programs which have been put together for the Canadian people, and try to put the finger on the weaknesses of these programs or the reasons why they have failed to come to grips with the problems there.

At the present time throughout Canada there exists a very valid and valuable program in the field of manpower training. The program to train or retrain men and women for jobs in Canada.

It is my impression, however, that the jobs for which this program is geared to train or retrain people happen to be in central Canada, so far as the Maritimers are concerned. It was our expectation that this program might be used to train young farmers in the maintenance of farm machinery for example, but unfortunately the program was geared to train those mechanics who had five years' experience in garages to become better mechanics, to train carpenters with five years' experience to become better carpenters, but not to assist those who did not quite fit into the program.

The program is effective, as far as the training of persons in welding or mechanical trades is concerned, and provides a good basic background training in industry which we find in central Canada.

But is there a course, or is there a training program within this broad field which assists Islanders in becoming better farmers, or better fishermen?

This is one national program that does not appear to be designed to fit into the particular requirements of the Province of Prince Edward Island.

Although we hear many complaints in many quarters about the national program on housing and although this program has assisted to some extent in meeting the needs of many Canadians, I think it is a fair question to ask what the federal program on housing has to offer the person living in rural Prince Edward Island.

It is not a program which helps the rural dweller to build a new home, or to improve the one he presently has, within his financial ability.

Transportation is another matter. I know that one of the pressing transportation requirements in Canada today is the need for four-lane highways, to replace two-lane highways, the need for speedy transit between airports and the large centres. But what of the road requirements for the Province of Prince Edward Island, or the Maritimes?

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The Atlantic Development Board has been designed as an agency to meet transportation requirements, as well as other requirements. But that program requires the Province of Prince Edward Island to put up fifty or seventy-five per cent of the cost and in this context, we are required to meet the federal standards of highway construction.

We end up getting better roads, but we end up having to pay for roads which are, admittedly, beyond the financial means of the province.

The cost-sharing programs have been mentioned and cited by the Premier of New Brunswick as creating difficulties for the Maritimers.

First of all, in my judgement, they do not reflect the fiscal capacity of the Maritime provinces, and in many cases we are unable even to raise the fifty per cent which is required to participate in these programs.

But a second objection, of course, is that the cost-sharing programs do not always fit into the priorities for spending, the priorities of need which the particular province may have at a given time.

Then thirdly, cost-sharing programs are on an on-again, off-again basis. They invite you to get in, vocational training being one, but then the federal government opts out at a predetermined time and leaves the province in a very embarrassing position, having to assume the total cost of the program.

And it is not an easy thing to opt out of a program provincially when the people have become accustomed to the services, the public services, or the programs, which were initiated jointly between the federal government and the province.

A national policy geared to assist the establishment of industry has proved helpful, but the national policies are not solving the requirements of the east in meeting the tremendous demand for capital investment to encourage and to assist the development of industry in the Maritime provinces.

And I might cite the example of an industry recently developed in our province.

The investment per capita for this industry was perhaps not large in terms of Ontario spending - please excuse these frequent references to Ontario, but I find it a very appropriate way of making comparisons. The equivalent investment to the people of Ontario would be \$900,000,000. So you can see that each million dollar, or ten million dollar investment in industry becomes a very sizeable undertaking, as far as the people of the province are concerned.



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Then we take a look at some of the Maritime programs which have been designed by the central government, the federal government, to especially reflect our needs and to meet those needs.

I can cite the Atlantic Development Board, which was established and was authorized to spend money, subject to the approval of the Treasury Board, in the interests of the province, and I cited the area of highway construction, in which this Board has been active.

It has assisted in supplying electrical power, where power is required for industry. It has been helping us in our water requirements as well.

But I mentioned that the operations of this Board are subject to the federal Treasury Board and we find very often, too often, that when we have a particular need in Prince Edward Island, and approach the Atlantic Development Board for assistance, the Atlantic Development Board in many cases becomes a buffer to our direct approaches to the federal government. Very often their decisions are subject to approval by Treasury, and very often, in our opinion, too careful a review is given - too careful a scrutiny given - and it becomes then, sometimes, a piecemeal application of a program.

Hon. Mr. Smallwood:

Mr. Chairman, all applications now must go through the Treasury Board, not just some, but all.

Hon. Mr. Campbell:

Premier Smallwood, I quite agree with that. I believe they are all going through Treasury Board, which leads me then to the next step.

Because of the over-heated economy of the nation, the Treasury Board, in Premier Smallwood's words of the first day of this Conference, feels the need to start clamping down a little bit.

And so at a time when the Atlantic provinces have the opportunity perhaps of closing this gap in the economic circumstances, we also feel the pressing down and we feel the results of the national policy which is geared to deal with a situation in a part of Canada far removed from the Maritime provinces.

I believe that this points out then, the need for a type of Maritime agency which is given a plenitude of powers, which has a long range budget,



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with money voted it, and having the ability to spend money when it is wisely decided it would be to the advantage of the Maritime provinces, and which does not have to answer to a treasury board, or to a parliament, except on an annual basis.

In this way, such an agency working for the Maritimes, and in effect working for Canada, would not be geared to any particular national economic situation and subjected from time to time and from application to application to the scrutiny of a treasury board.

And perhaps most important of all, there should be participation of Maritimers in the planning and in the decision-making of this board. I think this is most important.

I think that many Maritimers today are well qualified to work with any other person and to work with the federal government in designing programs to meet our needs. They are demonstrating the desire, the willingness and the ability to do so. I hope that Canada will soon recognize that there are talents and abilities still in the Maritimes - we haven't exported them all - quite able to sit down and work out rational programs of development.

There have been weaknesses in national fiscal policies. The equalization grants which served to transfer some money to the Atlantic provinces are designed to bring the Atlantic provinces up to the national average. I know this is not a new argument but it may be the first presentation to the people of Canada, who have often misunderstood the case of the Maritimes.

We might very well progress more quickly if we were aiming at the top Canadian province rather than trying to achieve equal status with the national average, because as we know there is quite a gap between the national average and the top Canadian province. And so when we are only aiming at the national average rather than the top province, our progress will be therefore much slower.

The national fiscal policy throughout Canada is nationally applied, and this means that the smallest province in Canada and perhaps the weakest in fiscal terms, is going to feel the effect of the application of national policy first.

It was Saskatchewan, through Premier Thatcher, that made a suggestion on the first day of this Conference. The suggestion meets fairly and squarely the feelings of the Province of Prince Edward Island. In the field of education there lies the key to the economic development and the advancement and the improvement of social and economic circumstances in that province, and, I may say, in the Province of Prince Edward Island. As long as we depend on our own fiscal resources to develop our educational facilities, to improve the quality of our teachers and the quality of training available to students, we are going to lag behind, and far behind the national average.

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We assume here a responsibility of the federal government. They should enter the field of education, not in the sense that they will direct the educational policy in the program, but to assume the financial responsibility; and I should think that I would not get strong arguments against this position from other Atlantic provinces which I appreciate are also experiencing difficulty in financing these programs.

Even to complete the consolidation program of those four hundred rural schools which I mentioned the other day, the financial implication to the Province of Prince Edward Island would be to add another twenty-five per cent to our sales tax. As you know there is not a great number of other areas in which we can apply taxation. The land tax has reached intolerable levels and cannot be looked upon as an additional source. In almost every area we have taxed to the full limit of our resources in order to provide our present services. As long as we fail to meet the needs of education we will fail to join with the rest of Canada in bringing our province up to more appropriate levels.

All is not lost and all is not desperate, of course, because we feel that there is a federal program which may be helpful to us and that program is being utilized in Manitoba at the present time, and in northeastern New Brunswick. I refer to the Fund for Rural Economic Development, the FRED fund.

We see this program as one which is tailored to some of the needs which I have outlined earlier. But I express this caution: on Thursday the national position will be taken with respect to the federal government's budgeting practices and I express the hope that on Thursday the FRED program, as well the causeway proposal, will not be the subject of the axe which will swing, because these are matters which we feel are very pertinent to the Province of Prince Edward Island if we are going to make any progress in the next few years.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, I am not surprised that this subject has been included on the agenda under the discussion of the overall matters that concern us here for certainly in the total Canadian context the relationship between these points that are now being discussed and the constitutional concerns of Canada is very real.

So often when we are discussing the Constitution of the country, our attention is focused on the powers and rights assigned to the different levels of government and we are apt to lose sight of the fact that every one of those powers carries with it very definite responsibility. Attached to the carrying out of each responsibility there is a very definite financial price tag as far as the provinces are concerned.

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Over the years, we have seen develop a great many discrepancies, and these have become the causes of many tensions in the field of federal-provincial relationships, especially as they pertain to economic development and to the fiscal policy.

When the financial responsibilities that had to be assumed by the provinces to discharge their constitutional powers became excessive, the method adopted to try to relieve the situation was for the Government of Canada to provide assistance by moving into certain specific fields, usually with shared-cost programs of some kind. This procedure first of all does not take into account the priorities at the provincial level as to what are the most important areas in which additional public expenditures must be made.

We could not have had a clearer illustration of this than what was mentioned by the Premier of New Brunswick a few moments ago. Here you have a concrete situation where if the Province of New Brunswick went to Ottawa and said "We are prepared to put up dollar for dollar, for the purpose of building additional technical schools," the Prime Minister of New Brunswick could go home with a cheque for \$34,000,000 from the federal government's treasury.

No matter how much New Brunswick may feel that there are other essential public requirements that may not cost even \$34,000,000, there is no assistance available to meet those higher priorities simply because they are not fields into which the federal government has, as a matter of policy, moved in this regard.

It seems to me this is the first great weakness which is throwing very severe strains on the economic structure of Canada and the relations between the provinces and the national government.

Secondly, and in a sense even more serious, the present practice really puts the determination of provincial policies in the hands of the national government rather than the Legislatures of the respective provinces, because under this method of fiscal assistance, it is the federal government that decides the areas in which such programs will be operated. If they decide that there is going to be a sharing of federal money with the provinces in any given field, for all practical purposes that becomes the determining factor in the provinces having then to go into that field, because it is the only one in which assistance is available.

The unsoundness of this has become apparent over the years at various federal-provincial conference discussions, and it is a matter that we might very properly draw to the attention of this nation; it is leading to situations that are hampering the discharge of provincial responsibilities



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in deciding their own policies and the areas of priorities which to their people are the most important.

The representative from British Columbia referred specifically to some of the implications of the Carter Commission in this regard. That, together with these points that have been mentioned, certainly points up the necessity for a new arrangement for consultation between the federal and the provincial governments of this country. If the programs and policies of the provinces are going to be affected by federal decisions in these fields and by the possible federal implementations of the sweeping changes proposed, for example, in the Carter Commission report, then the fiscal structure and even the position of provincial responsibility is going to be drastically altered in every province in this country.

Surely the initial step should be a far more effective arrangement of consultation between the Government of Canada and the governments of the provinces before these decisions are made which so vitally affect the policy decisions of the provinces and their ability to carry them out.

May I very briefly illustrate one concern we have in our part of Canada with respect to the Carter Commission report. We are an area of Canada that is dependent on very large sums of private investment capital for the development of our natural resources, and I refer particularly to the petroleum industry.

For over ten years in our province the capital requirements of the petroleum industry have exceeded \$1,000,000 a day for exploration and development alone; it has averaged over \$365,000,000 per year. This is a lot of capital.

The Carter Commission proposes some drastic and fundamental changes in the matter of incentives for investment capital in this particular industry. The argument that seems to be advanced by the Commission is that really the shift of investment capital from one area to another in Canada will not be serious in the total national picture, and if inducements are removed from certain categories of resource development, the effect of this will be that that investment capital may shift to some other area of capital development in this country, but in balance the nation will not lose.

Mr. Chairman, as far as the petroleum industry is concerned this, of course, is completely fallacious. Our petroleum industry is not competing primarily for capital with, say, the mining industry of Ontario or the pulp and paper industry of the Province of Quebec. We have to maintain a competitive position with the other petroleum-producing areas of the world, and the decisions of international companies in the petroleum industry are not going to be whether capital is diverted to mining in Ontario or petroleum in western Canada or pulp in the Province of Quebec. It is entirely a



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decision of whether this capital is going to be used to develop the petroleum industry in Canada or the petroleum industry in the Far East or in some other oil-producing region of the world. As a result, something which seems to be relatively unimportant on the surface could very well lead to a change in the whole supply of capital; that could very seriously affect our economy, and have a very adverse effect on the economy of Canada as a whole. The Canadian production of petroleum products has a direct bearing on our balance of payments with the United States.

I use this as another illustration of how matters which in a sense are regarded as federal have a direct bearing on the economic position of the provinces. These things underscore the importance of emphasizing that in the complex Canadian economy of today there is an absolute necessity for far closer consultation; not just discussion but a meaningful voice in the decisions that are made at national level, that directly affect the economy and the policy position and the ability to carry out policies at the provincial level.

This Conference can make a worthwhile contribution to the stability of Canada by drawing to the attention of the Canadian people the importance of these things.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Mr. Manning, this is a subject that I dealt with this morning in my remarks. As I say, you cannot separate out the various elements in so much we are discussing here, because they overlap and they are pertinent in more than one respect. But what you have said underscores what we think needs to be a very meaningful shift in the relationship between the provincial governments and the federal government. I don't think it requires any constitutional amendment to achieve it. I think it requires a shift of emphasis in thinking and a greater realization of the changing position of various areas of Canada over the past few years.

As I said this morning, it becomes more and more difficult to attempt to disregard the inter-relationship between not only the provincial governments and the federal government, but the relationships between the provinces themselves.

It may be that we need to examine the whole area of intergovernmental relationship at the provincial level as well as simply directing our minds to the basis of relationship between the provinces and the federal government.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

We are increasingly dependent upon one another for common prosperity. Much more important in my view - although that is perhaps of very great importance - is the fact that I mentioned in another context - that we are in a position to negate one another's programs.

We must accept the fact that we cannot go our own separate ways as governments, that we cannot make decisions independent of one another as to our future development plans. Just look at the whole question of our entry into the money markets of the world alone and particularly in a period such as we are in at the moment where money is "tight", as the expression is, and there is not perhaps a sufficient number of dollars available to be borrowed and to go around; and particularly the timing of when we in Ontario may go to the money markets to borrow money for Hydro or for our own purposes, or the Province of Quebec may, or the Province of British Columbia may, and the Government of Canada must.

The day is gone when we can do these things without a very high degree of co-operation between all the governments in order to co-ordinate our total effect upon, to give you just one illustration, the money markets of Canada and particularly the United States.

The point where this becomes germane to this Conference is that we are here trying to look into the years that lie ahead of us as a country, and these illustrations only serve to tell us that we must develop some new intergovernmental arrangements so we may meet these problems as they are being set out here today.

I do not think that this Conference is putting forward these illustrations to criticize the federal government in any way; I think we are doing it to illustrate the changes which are taking place and that have taken place in our country which may not have been fully recognized and that are not being formally recognized in the methods of intergovernmental co-operation that we have. In other words, we may need to address our minds to finding solutions to these problems. Those solutions will lie in more effective and more meaningful consultation between the various levels of government. I would like to stress that I do not think that it is purely a question of provincial and federal. I think it is interprovincial as well.

We are interested in what all the other provinces in Canada are doing. It is in our own interests to be interested in what the other provinces are doing which must lead us to a much greater degree of co-operation than we have been able to achieve in the past.

Mr. Johnson, I assume that you are ready to proceed.

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Hon. Mr. Johnson:

I was hesitating because, as I said before, I did not want to take up all the time, but I would like to emphasize a chapter of the preliminary statement that was tabled by the Quebec delegation. In the second part, which begins on page 14, we have tried to lay down the principal goals of the new constitution. Now, may I say with all the reservations that I made this morning that in the process of writing this constitution, we do not mean that we should start from scratch. But I would like to emphasize what we stated concerning intergovernmental co-operation.

At this point, I would like to read a clear statement of our position starting on page 20 in French, which corresponds to page 18 in the English version.

If it is important to establish clearly the responsibilities of each area of government, it is equally essential to indicate here the methods of co-operation which should exist between each. The modern world no longer tolerates impassable barriers between governments, any more than it permits attributing any particular problem to a single cause. Quebec is fully aware of this fact; she feels she must increase her jurisdictional range in the Canada of tomorrow, not in order to isolate herself, but rather to be in a better position to bring her own contribution to collective wealth through interdependence. Each government must be concerned with the impact of its actions on other governments.

... Nobody will deny the provinces' exclusive responsibility for municipal affairs, but does this mean that their activities in this field have no effect on decisions required of the federal government in others? Not at all. And certainly the influence which provinces exert on one another is often apparent, even if each merely acts within the limits of its own jurisdiction.

Above all, it is our feeling that we should institutionalize federal-provincial and interprovincial conferences. Of course, the constitution could not fix the frequency or agendas of such meetings. That would be unrealistic. It would probably be sufficient to stipulate the right of any government to take the initiative for convening such conferences.



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Similarly, we should provide for the existence of well-defined machinery for intergovernmental consultation and co-operation on economic policy. Here again, it would not be necessary to enter into details, but merely to express juridically the practical consequences of our incontestable economic interdependence. Economic policies in Canada cannot and must not depend exclusively on one government, in this instance federal.

The provinces have and will continue to have a major interest in this field. There can be no question of excluding them from formulating and implementing various economic policies, particularly fiscal policies, if only because of the size of their own budgets and their influence on the economy. In any case, Quebec cannot agree to stay out of the economic policy field, for that would be tantamount to allowing another government to decide the course of her whole economy.

And leaving this text for a moment, I would like to say how much I agree with all those who preceded me on this subject, in expressing the sincere wish - bordering on a "demand" in the English sense of the word - that the federal government take into account the Canadian reality. There is not one premier around this table who does not do his utmost to develop his province economically. We step up our efforts, set up credit and grant organizations, have surveys made of certain aspects of our economy, take certain risks such as one just taken by the Premier of New Brunswick - his province recently endorsed a project which will cost between \$40,000,000 and \$50,000,000. But without previous consultation, the federal government, through its fiscal and monetary policy, can destroy all the work that is being done, or at least slow its progress. It seems to me it is time we realized that it is not good for the country in general or any province in particular, and still less for any individual citizen, that there should be twenty or twenty-five decision-making centres working without co-ordination.

I say twenty or twenty-five, starting with the eleven governments; I could add the administration of the Northwest Territories, then certain provincial organizations such as Hydro-Quebec, Ontario Hydro; others would include the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and our own Quebec Housing Corporation. In short, without totalling them exactly, there are probably more than twenty centres of decision in the public sector which have a great bearing on the economy and there is, I confess, even within the Province of Quebec - and the same may be true elsewhere - a lack of co-ordination in both planning and action. We are going to set the example



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by trying to put things in order in our own house, but the fact remains that co-operation with the federal government and the other provinces is more necessary than ever. To illustrate this point, here is an example which I have used before in other circumstances, but which speaks volume: in an attempt at one time to remove pressure on the economy, the central government imposed a 5% refundable tax on corporation profits, on the theory that 5% of the cash flow would help for a certain period. If my memory serves me correctly, this measure took from \$150,000,000 to \$250,000,000 out of circulation. Now consultation between Ottawa and Quebec, Ottawa and Toronto, Hydro-Quebec and Ontario Hydro, the Aluminum Company, The Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways could easily have removed more than a billion dollars of pressure while delaying only part of our projects. In short, it seems to me that realism is lacking. It is time we faced up to the situation squarely and publicly and I hope that the federal-provincial conference scheduled for late January or early February will give us this opportunity. I would like the provinces to come prepared and I wish that some group would provide co-ordination, say from the information standpoint, with no attempt to influence anyone.

Referring again to the preliminary statement, on page 22 of the French text I continued:

Fiscal matters, and more specifically fiscal arrangements are not on the agenda of this Conference, in accordance with the wishes of the Ontario Government which convened it. It is obvious that, in the context of a new constitution, to exclusive jurisdictions must correspond exclusive or paramount fiscal powers.

I do not intend to elaborate, for this is another field which should be discussed with the federal authorities. In the next paragraph, I touch on a question which I was asked by the Premier of Prince Edward Island:

Further, in order to ensure the right of each citizen to comparable services, wherever he may live in Canada, the mechanisms of fiscal arrangements should be improved and, if necessary, institutionalized.

The Premier of Prince Edward Island also asked me to throw more light on on this passage: "Even though the federal government has jurisdiction over currency, it must always reckon with the fact that monetary policy has concrete repercussions on other governments' action." Of course, I purposely link together the two aspects of the problem. I believe it was the Premier of Newfoundland who most clearly expressed my thinking with his metaphor of Procrustes' bed, while other premiers recalled how a policy which seems necessary for the well-being of Canada as a whole can be

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extremely harmful at times to certain provinces. This is the case with the Maritime provinces who do not feel that their economy is at all overheated, whereas on Parliament Hill in Ottawa they can feel the heat to such a degree that they are going to slash certain appropriations, even those earmarked for the Maritimes and Eastern Quebec, as well as increase taxes. Mr. Chairman, it is time for the eleven governments to agree on these economic questions, and agreement does not mean we hope that the kind of federal-provincial conferences which I have attended will continue. True, my experience is limited, but there is one thing nobody can accept if he believes in federalism, and I assure you I am speaking as premier of a province, forgetting for the time being about the French fact in Quebec. Nobody who believes in federalism and who is invited to a fiscal conference after a federal-provincial committee has worked on the problem for more than two years and arrived at unanimous conclusions can tolerate not being consulted on the decisions to be based on the committee's findings, but simply being told: Children, if you are good, this is what you will get, so take it or leave it. Mr. Chairman, years ago the federal-provincial relationship from the conference standpoint consisted of brilliant improvisations by the premiers, some of whom were often very well informed, while others had only political aims in view. For the first time in Canada's history, we started from a document prepared jointly over a two-year period by experts from the federal and provincial governments, and whose unanimous conclusion clearly showed that the provinces were heading for disaster - an estimated three-billion-dollar total deficit by the end of the five-year period. On the other hand, the revenue and expense curve showed that the federal government could expect a surplus of seven hundred and fifty million dollars by the period's end. In these circumstances, we might have hoped to be consulted before the federal policy was announced. As it turned out, we were brought together to be told what had been decided, and we were left with the distinct impression that the federal departments had gone on a frantic spending spree to see which could do the most to bring the central government into a deficit position as soon as possible, thereby preventing the provinces from asking for their share of the surplus.

This is an intolerable situation and the taxpayers will not stand for it. More and more, and justifiably so, not only businessmen but average wage-earners, who are taxed right up to the hilt, have insisted that there should first be some over-all planning, but done in co-operation; and that the main priorities then be established on the basis of principles that everybody around this table is ready to accept, among others the principle of equal opportunity throughout the land for each and every citizen.

In short, the most important and urgent matter to be settled is intergovernmental co-operation. And for the record, Mr. Chairman, please allow me to read the last paragraph of this chapter of our statement:

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It is also our impression that we would have everything to gain by setting up a permanent interprovincial secretariat which, among other functions, would help keep provincial governments better informed on one another's legislation, administrative reforms, problems as well as the solutions adopted, policies and other matters. In addition, such a secretariat would permit more thorough preparation for interprovincial meetings of cabinet ministers and civil servants.

Mr. Chairman, I have no complaints about the co-operation which the other provinces have been giving to us, to Quebec, and I hope they will not have cause to complain about the co-operation we offer them. Still, we believe these exchanges should be systematized or institutionalized, not with the intention of forming a common front against anyone, but simply to improve our respective legislation. As you know, under the former government, Quebec instituted the Department of Federal-Provincial Affairs which was recently given a new dimension and a new title by a bill creating the Department of Intergovernmental Affairs. With our own General Directorate of Federal-provincial and Interprovincial Relations, we hope it will be possible to exchange all documents and bills on a regular basis and as a matter of course. We have all such material studied and frequently find guidance in the methods adopted by another province to settle a problem, if not a specific legislative provision to solve one of our own.

For example, in the field of relations between the government and its employees, it will not be long before the salary scale paid in one province will be used as an argument that the same scale should apply in another province; on the basis of a particular category in our province another scale will be established somewhere else, and all this will lead to escalation. In short - and I want to be properly understood - while I have no objection to increasing the salaries of civil servants, I am extremely sensitive to this aspect of the problem. I am not the one who pays them; the money to pay the mass of salaried employees who draw their wages directly or indirectly from the province comes from the pockets of taxpayers in general, so we must restore order in this field and that is what we are now doing.

In my opinion, Mr. Chairman, not only is intergovernmental co-operation - first between provinces, then between all provinces or any one of them and the federal government - an obviously urgent necessity, but it should be established as a constitutional principle, so that it will not be left to the whims of any government whatsoever. This would give us a federal system which would be a little better structured, a little better organized, one which would function normally in the view of those who still really believe in federalism.



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I do not want to take more than my share of the time at our disposal, Mr. Chairman, and I thank you for your attention. However, I would like to say that even if Quebec were populated exclusively by English-speaking people, as Prime Minister of Quebec I would put forward the same argument, for I am convinced that the federal system is the form of government which best suits our huge country; still sparsely populated in relative terms, it needs centres of decision which, though decentralized of course, are also very closely, regularly and systematically co-ordinated.

Mr. Chairman, this is all the more true when one represents the Province of Quebec, but in this case we would have no objection to being considered as a province like the others, provided certain postulates that we have set out in our preliminary statement are accepted.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I am going to request that the full statement be considered part of the Conference record, as if it had been read here in its entirety. Let it therefore be entered in the record, in both the French and English versions, otherwise, I shall have to try your patience by reading you some excerpts. I am sure that you can read it at home at your leisure and I would like to give others a chance to express themselves on this extremely important subject on this afternoon's agenda.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Thank you, Mr. Johnson. Certainly we will ensure that the document is put before us and becomes part of the permanent record.

It was interesting to me to hear you read parts of it, and to see how similar our thinking is in many regards.

It was your predecessor, and my predecessor who is here in the audience, who set up originally the interprovincial conferences. We have been meeting once a year for eight or ten years. I might say it has often occurred to me that this might be a basis for formalizing some of the relationships between the provinces, because here we have a group that has been meeting over a period of time.

In the beginning, in deference to the feelings of the federal government, or for some reason at any event, that group set down a rather stiff ground rule: nothing could be said at any of those meetings which could be construed as any question of ganging-up on the federal government.



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And I can see the reason why, when that organization was originally set up, that was probably a very valid point of view. I think its validity has long since gone. I think in trying to stick too strictly to that concept, we have, to some extent at least, not developed to the full, the potential that that particular conference has each year.

As I heard and listened to your comments and read your brief concerning the necessity for interprovincial co-operation in the years that lie ahead, I think this Conference might very well take into account the organization that we already have and it might be more fully developed in the future. After all, we find in Ontario that our relationship with our fellow provinces is much greater than I think the general public would ever realize. At the official level, we are in communication on almost an hourly basis as we go about the administration of our governments. It may be a somewhat ad hoc arrangement that has grown up and various formal arrangements need to be formalized in some way. And I think, from this Conference, the idea might very well be developed.

It has also occurred to us in this province that the time may be approaching when we should, to use your term, Sir, institutionalize the federal-provincial conference, or the meetings of the Prime Minister of Canada and the leaders of the governments of the various provinces. We now do this in a somewhat remarkable fashion. There is no set time for these meetings. Sometimes one has a lot of notice. Sometimes one has a little notice. Sometimes one has a very full explanation of what we are to discuss before we go to Ottawa. And sometimes one gets a huge mass of information before one has any real opportunity to digest it and make one's comments on it, and therefore one is unable to make any kind of meaningful contribution to the conference when it takes place.

Then, of course, we do have those conferences such as the one to which you refer, and from which one comes away, as I did, with a feeling of complete frustration, because it seemed to me that a couple of years' work had gone for nothing.

But some of these things might be rectified, in my thinking, if we were to try to formalize a little more the means of consultation and co-operation which we have developed in the last few years between the provincial governments and the federal government. For instance, let us suggest that we decided to have an annual meeting which would be held at a fixed time to discuss certain broad areas of general interest to all of Canada. If one knew that, say in the third week of January every year, this meeting was to take place, and there were certain block areas of discussion which you knew were going to be covered, you could go there with a year's preparation to put a point of view that could be really meaningful. You would then be able to hear the opinions of other provinces and the federal government, developed over a similar period of time.

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This sort of thing, to my mind, would be nothing but a normal progression from where we are today. The federal-provincial conference has developed to meet certain needs. I think the federal-provincial conference is the most vivid illustration of the problem which we are discussing here this afternoon; the fact of the increased need for co-operation, because, if we did not need this co-operation, we would not be having the number of federal-provincial conferences we are presently having. So the whole idea of institutionalizing this to some extent, or formalizing it, if that is the term, so that it can be a more effective instrument than it is at present, is one which I think could warrant some very close consideration and examination by us.

I do not know whether other leaders of delegations here have opinions they might like to express, but certainly we have been giving this a great deal of consideration in Ontario and I think it follows along very closely upon the remarks made by the Prime Minister of Quebec.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to have to again rise on a question of privilege. I do not know whether it is worthwhile, but I think for the record that I should again protest against another type of reporting that is an odd way of contributing to a better understanding among all Canadians and of assisting the premiers who are here:

"After a Clash with Robarts, Manning, Johnson withdraws his demands for a brand new Constitution."

I assume that the translators are competent; I was told that they are doing a wonderful job. Now what language must I speak to be understood by some of the reporters? Or is it rewriting at the desk? All I can say is thank God we do not have only the papers to report what is going on; that we have a record and that we have television and radio.

By the way, I never withdrew.

I shall not withdraw now.

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Hon. Mr. Robarts:

I don't think, Mr. Prime Minister, that it was ever the impression held by anyone in this semi-circle that you withdrew from your position.

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

And I did not feel the "clash" - did you?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

No, I thought we had a very interesting discussion.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman, could I ask for just one clarification of your reference a few moments ago to establishing the federal-provincial conference and arranging this on an institutionalized and more formal form; is it your thought that this should be worked out for the total federal-provincial structure, that is, federal and provincial representatives, or were you referring to the arrangement we have had for a number of years of the provincial premiers in their own congress?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

My own opinion is that there should be both. I am not saying that we could. I don't suggest for a moment that by having one formal meeting per year, we would thereby obviate the necessity for other meetings during any period of time. But I do think it would be of great value if we had one meeting a year to which we all knew we were going to go at a certain time, with fixed areas of discussion. Those could be drawn in such a way that discussion would be of benefit and the conclusions drawn there would be of benefit to every one of our governments in planning its activities for the year that lay ahead.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

To deal with the wide variety of situations that might arise, of course there will always have to be consultation.

I think we will have to look at the annual premiers' conference, perhaps with a little more secretariat to project its function throughout the whole year, with a view to making it more active, rather than having it as it has been in the past - just a relatively simple meeting and an exchange of ideas, and not much more.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Mr. Chairman, I do not know what you mean by your last statement - that we should continue with these conferences, but with more than an exchange of views. What more can we do?

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Well, for instance, at the last, to touch on the subject that Mr. Johnson raised at Fredericton when we were with you there, the whole question came up covering the exchange of information in the areas Mr. Johnson was speaking about: wage levels in various areas across the country. In that conference, we had no follow-up machinery at all other than, as it has worked out in practice, whoever happens to be the chairman is charged with the responsibility of following these things up. But there is no real permanent follow-up to what we do. This is all that I am suggesting - that we could make them more valuable than they presently are.

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

Mr. Robarts, when you are giving more formalized thought to meetings at the ministerial level, I think we ought to make place in our thinking for the desirability of inter-briefing among our senior officials. This is done in some areas quite frequently, but I think it could be done in more areas with the same frequency with greater effect.



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I think particularly the desirability suggests itself of the senior financial officers of the national and the provincial governments endeavouring to be more firmly in touch with each other, especially if we are going to have any siege in this particular period before us.

I understand and realize they do meet frequently now, but perhaps this might be considered more fully, and certainly the legal officers could meet more frequently with good results, because I find increasing areas of concurrent action as between Ontario and British Columbia, for example, in securities and related matters, and they are all involved in consumer price and interest disclosure legislation and administration - things of this sort.

Some of these subject areas do involve the federal government, but they certainly are of common concern to the provincial governments and although it is very pleasant to meet fellow ministers it is, I think, equally important that our senior officials confer in private as well.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1967

MORNING SESSION

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Gentlemen, we are opening the seventh and final session of this Conference. According to the agenda, there will be short statements by the leaders of each delegation.

I should like to make a few remarks to commence this final session. I should like to speak first in my capacity as Chairman of the Conference.

I would say in that regard, that I have been very deeply encouraged by the events of these past three days, the discussion of our goals and our heritage and our institutions and the various approaches we take and the means which we may be able to develop to deal with some of our problems in Canada. Our discussions have been, I think, amicable. They have been certainly very determined. There have been forthright statements made by all delegations. I, as Chairman, have been very pleased with the candour and the vigour with which the discussions have been pursued.

When we conceived the idea of this Conference, I can assure you that we did it with full knowledge of the risks which were involved.

We were breaking new ground. We were doing something that had never been done in our country before. And when meetings of this kind were held previously, there were no such things as radio or television through which all the people of the country could be involved. But we believed that the risks were certainly worth taking in view of the results we might be able to achieve. I think that our highest expectations in this regard have been met.

I should like to think that those who examine what has been achieved here will view the achievement against the objectives which we set out in the first place: to engender a frank and free discussion which would not lead to conclusions, but which might very well set the basis for future meetings and which might through their progression lead to firm conclusions and recommendations as to action that might be taken.

We wanted to learn the views and the problems of every part of Canada. I believe this expectation has been fully met in the frank statements which we have had, covering a wide variety of subjects from all the delegations. But I would say, basic to our belief that this type of Conference could be successful, was our confidence in the men who would attend the Conference - in the men who sat around this horseshoe this last three-and-a-half-days.

As the one who has acted as host, I should like to say how deeply grateful I am that you saw fit to accept the invitation to come here, because

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we were well aware that you were perfectly free to come or not come as you chose. I should like to say how grateful we are that you have brought to the Conference and these discussions such a real and deep and obviously sincere understanding of the position and the beliefs of the people you represent.

I should say also we have had a demonstration of the ability to listen with sympathy and with understanding to ideas and attitudes which might differ in varying degrees from those which we hold ourselves.

We have been given here, I think, in the last few days, a rather rare display of patience, wisdom and, in many instances, of courage.

For these things, as Chairman of this Conference, I am very grateful and herein has lain the seed of such success as we have been able to achieve.

I should like to pay a particular tribute to one of our colleagues here.

Many of the most critical problems facing Canada have been raised around this horseshoe in these days. I am referring to the economic needs of certain areas of our provinces and this problem has been put before this Conference with vigour, I think, and with the utmost clarity. It seems to me that perhaps that aspect of what we have discussed here is possible of solution within the accepted forms of government and intergovernmental relationships that we have. It seems to me that much of that problem could be solved by a more concerted, and perhaps more sophisticated, approach than we have taken as a country in the past in the correction of economic disparity between different areas of Canada, if we are to have a truly meaningful concept of what it is to be Canadian. And I think that the necessity for this approach and for rectification of this particular situation has been made clear to all of us. I think we will go away firmly convinced that more must be done in this area.

But one of us here has brought along a wholly different order of problems. He is facing, I would say, a different situation from any one of the other premiers of the provinces of Canada. And, of course, I am referring to Prime Minister Johnson of Quebec.

Because his problems and his situation are, in many respects, of a different degree and really cast in a different area than the positions of some of the rest of us, he has had to take, I would think, a larger part in these discussions than he might normally wish to assign to himself. He has had to put a point of view - sometimes I felt that he was somewhat alone in the point of view that he put - although I have been happy to see that the

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members of other delegations have been certainly appreciative of his position and he has been given support here. But he has accepted this burden, which I think is greater than that borne by any of the rest of us. He has undertaken his role with a skill and a warmth which has been apparent to all of us. I am sure it has been apparent to all those who have been here as observers. I would like to offer my very sincere congratulations to Mr. Johnson on the way he has presented to us the very difficult problems with which he has to cope in his own province. We have commenced a constructive dialogue.

I am going to speak now, if I may, as the head of the delegation from Ontario. I think our initial endeavour has been very worthwhile. We have found that we can sit down together and frankly air our differences. This in itself, gentlemen, in my opinion, is a large accomplishment. But we must not forget the fact, and I don't want any false, fresh enthusiasm to obscure the fact that we have really, here in these three-and-a-half days, only scratched the surface of the very complex problems that face us in the country.

Because we have been able to have an exchange of views such as we have had, I think that we are groping towards a method of dealing with these complex problems. But we have not, indeed, completely arrived at any means of solving them, much less have we arrived at actual solutions themselves. These things will not go away just because we have happened to meet here for three-and-a-half days.

While I would want to be enthusiastic about what we have been able to accomplish, I would suggest that we don't allow our enthusiasm for what we have been able to accomplish to obscure the true complexity of the tasks and the difficulty of the tasks which still lie ahead of us. But we have been able in these days to build confidence in ourselves that we are able to deal with our own problems.

I don't think that we will achieve our ends without sacrifices. I think this becomes obvious in these days of discussion that we have had. There is no easy solution to our problems. There is no solution that will leave us in exactly the same position we were before. I think we must anticipate that there will be sacrifices required of people in Canada, in all parts of Canada. This becomes very obvious to me in our examination of these problems, and there may be some discomfort occasionally, to all of us, as we seek accommodation for the varying points of view which must be reconciled within our country. But I don't consider that to be of importance as long as we recognize that we will and must pay a price for Canada. I think this is a price we are all prepared to pay.



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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

Now the major themes as I see them, and the events that emerged from our talks this week, are three. I think three deserve particular mention.

The first, as it was raised in the discussion here, is the necessity for a greater measure of equal economic opportunity for all Canadians; much greater measure than has been the case to date in the history of our country. This, in my opinion, as I assess our discussions, is really of enormous importance. It is a matter to which we must address ourselves immediately and I think it came out in this Conference very loud and clear. I don't think there is any person in Canada who really would want such a situation to continue.

Of course, to achieve perfect economic equality or equality of economic opportunity is a practical impossibility, but much more can be done than has been done. Particularly, I was interested in the point of view put by the areas that are not as economically fortunate as others, that they are not looking for assistance in the form of hand-outs. What they want is assistance to develop the great wealth that they have in their areas of Canada. This is a worthy objective and it is certainly a possible objective. It is something that we, as Canadians and as a people, should be able to achieve.

The second major question is the question of constitutional change. In this area we have had very spirited discussion indeed and an enormously fascinating and interesting discussion so far as I personally am concerned. The various alternatives have been put forward and I think some middle positions have been developed. Whether we should approach such change gradually or whether we should attempt to do it all in one sweeping effort: these are the two ends of the situation. In the discussions we have had here, I have been pleased to notice that there is lots of area for discussion between the two extreme positions.

I think we need to examine these questions far more carefully than we have been able to here. But once again, in relation to the terms of reference of the Conference, we have been able to bring this question out and have it discussed fully and frankly. This in itself is the objective that we sought in calling the Conference.

Before any decision is made in this regard, of course, there would have to be all kinds of consultation. As I said yesterday the federal government must be drawn into the discussions because such change, and even meaningful discussion of it, really requires the presence of the federal government.

Finally, the theme which was evident throughout the proceedings, which cropped up frequently and in various places, revolved around the

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practical course we should take to ensure the linguistic equality of our French-speaking citizens across Canada. In linguistic equality I think I could include the common phrase which is now used: how do we make all Canadians feel at home in all parts of Canada? This issue warrants our immediate and serious attention across Canada. As far as Ontario is concerned, I will simply say that we have taken steps here towards meeting the needs of our Franco-Ontarians. We were delighted to hear at this Conference of the progress that is being made in other provinces. I think we have sketched out here a goal for ourselves which is worthy of very serious effort on all our parts.

I would say, too, that this Conference has also given to us, and I would hope through us as delegates, as a result of the coverage provided in the newspapers and by the television cameras and the radio, to all the people of Canada, a very distinct and clear awareness of the ferment and disturbance that exists in the Province of Quebec.

We are now able to discuss this with a freedom that perhaps did not exist prior. There should be no reticence in our examination of this situation. We must, in my opinion, learn to understand it much more than we do, so that we may have a much deeper understanding of what it is. We must learn to meet its consequences intelligently. Because a solution to this area of unrest in our country is so central to our national survival, I should like to take advantage of the means of communication that we have here and direct my remarks not only to those who are sitting around this horseshoe, but through the radio, the television and the newspapers, to the people of Canada. I should like to think that these remarks were going to the people of our country who followed these discussions here in the last few days.

I would say first to English-speaking Canadians: let us respond to the feelings of French-speaking Canadians with what I am convinced are your basic instincts of generosity and goodwill. Let us mix sympathy with practicality in our assessment of the grievances of French-speaking Canadians. We have learned how very real these grievances are to our French-speaking compatriots. Let none of us who are English-speaking express in one breath any attitudes perhaps of hostility toward any and all change, while in the same breath ask for a united Canada.

We cannot resist change on one hand and ask for a united Canada at the same time. I think any such approach would be self-defeating. It could be destructive of some of our most cherished goals as Canadians. Those goals are the very preservation of our country.

I might also be so presumptuous as to address a few words to the French-speaking people of Quebec. I would address to them a special appeal too, because we realize their very natural concern with an exciting vision of a new and invigorated society, and this vision has been developing in the

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last few years. I would ask: in your delight and well-deserved enthusiasm in what you are doing, please do not ignore the many significant changes that have taken place and which are occurring outside your province in other parts of Canada.

In Ontario, for which I speak, I can attest to the tremendous changes in attitudes in the last five years toward the problems of Quebec. I think we have laid out here quite clearly what we have done to get recognition of these changes. This is true of our population generally. I think it is particularly true of our young people.

Our Centennial year and Expo'67 have certainly sharpened the deep sense of goodwill that exists among our people. This had the result that many of our hitherto strictly English-speaking organizations have introduced bilingual practices. We have had changes in our educational system and we have set them out here. We are making many efforts to secure among our people a new awareness of the sensibilities of our French-speaking compatriots.

Now I just want to say that these shifts in attitude in English-speaking Canada can be damaged. This process of change will only continue if it appears to be welcomed and if it is encouraged.

If it is rebuffed, or even worse, if it is made to appear irrelevant, it is going to be very difficult to continue the progress we have made and to keep this ball rolling and to accentuate its momentum as we hope to do.

We have found, I would add, that the present leader of your government in Quebec is a man who is very aware of these changes. I think he is very sensitive to the changes which have taken place in the other parts of Canada and for this we are truly grateful.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I would make an appeal to all of us to recognize the urgency of our needs for shifts and changes if we are to have the Canada of tomorrow that we all wish. I think some Canadians assume a process of gradual change, that if we just sort of let things develop, eventually everything will work out. I would like to destroy that illusion, because I think it is nothing more than an illusion. We are faced with immediate problems that are going to require immediate action. I would say only this: that I think we have demonstrated here, in these few days, that we are quite confident and quite able to face these problems. But let us not wait always until a crisis is upon us before we think it is time to take action. Let us recognize that these problems are here, that they are not going to go away, that they must be dealt with immediately and that we have within ourselves the capacity and the ability and the ingenuity to find the necessary solutions. Gentlemen, in my opening remarks on Monday I stated that to everything there must be a beginning. I think that we are fully justified in leaving this Conference satisfied that a firm and meaningful beginning has been made. But let us not delude ourselves that we have done anything more than make a beginning.



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Hon. Mr. Johnson:

It seems natural enough for the representative of Quebec to follow the spokesman for Ontario in the course of a constitutional conference. Alphabetical order might have been adopted, or no fixed order at all; but I think it was wise at the opening and that it is wise today to follow historical protocol, instead of creating problems and especially encouraging interpretations which could be harmful to some of us and which certainly would not help anyone.

Please allow me, Mr. Chairman, to thank you and I will do it in your language.

I would like to thank you most sincerely Mr. Robarts, not only for having convened this Conference but also for the wonderful job you have performed as Chairman. Somebody was asking me yesterday "Where does Mr. Robarts get all that patience and that impassibility?" And the only explanation we have is that he must be a very good poker player. I wish to thank him for the way he has chaired this Conference, for his hospitality; and those thanks go to the Government of Ontario, to the Legislature which, with the support, I understand, of representatives of the leaders of both political parties in Opposition, accepted unanimous or quasi-unanimous resolutions to call this Conference. I also wish to thank all those who are not mentioned, but who have worked so hard making the preliminary arrangements, on both on both the papers produced and the technical facilities provided. The arrangements are exceptionally well done, and, to the "unknown soldiers" of the success of this Conference, I wish to address my most sincere thanks.

I do not intend to take too much time. The Prime Minister of Ontario has pointed out why the head of Quebec delegation had to speak more often than others: apparently he is the spokesman for a province which seems to create problems.

I suggest, as food for thought for Canada, a proposition which, while seemingly paradoxical, still contains much truth. People in the rest of Canada have got into the habit of saying "Quebec creates a problem for us." I would like to reverse the proposition and say that Quebec has a problem with the rest of Canada, and that this situation is not something new. It began in 1608, or 1609 for all practical purposes. We had problems in settling, in discovering almost the whole of North America. We had big problems, particularly in 1759 and 1760. We did not invite certain people to come and meet us in 1759. We had a little patch of land of our own and it is not our fault that an army and navy came here which, after winning on the battlefields, attempted to make a country together with us. It has not been easy; problems were encountered, but it was always Quebec which had its problems with the rest of Canada.



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We lived under four constitutions before getting the fifth, the one we are examining today, the one which we would like to see thoroughly changed, gradually if necessary, so as to end up with a new constitution.

What I am saying, in short, is that we are not afraid of constitutional change. At one point in our history, we even had a rather radical change of allegiance. And let me tell you, just in passing, that we are profoundly Canadian, in the deepest sense of the word. We have been Canadians for 350 years or more; we have deep roots here; the word "Canada" and the expression "Canadian" are so deeply implanted in us that in my opinion, as far as French-speaking Canadians are concerned, the term "French Canadians" will never be eradicated.

Mr. Chairman, after thanking you, I would like to give a brief word-picture of the land and people represented here by my colleagues, advisers and myself. We represent a province with a huge territory.

We like to say that it is the largest province of all Canada. A province which, as technology advances, will eventually become fit for habitation, or at least usable in its entirety, as will the whole of the Northwest Territories, all areas of northeastern Canada and all the world's northern regions. It is such a large province that we could contain all the Common Market countries and still have room left over, even for Great Britain - a vast and diversified territory.

In Quebec, we have as it were a Canada on a smaller scale, or on a less large scale to be more exact. A variety in climate and an immense variety in regional attitudes. We actually have a Canada in Quebec - nine or ten regions with widely different attitudes. All those who have been in politics and who have travelled through all the counties of Quebec can testify to the truth of this statement.

We represent a population of almost six million. This means that, excluding the population of Ontario, ours includes as many people as eight other provinces combined, plus a quarter of British Columbia's population.

We represent a varied population comprising Canadians of diverse origins from fourteen European and Asian countries; statistically, French-speaking people account for approximately 80% and the non-French-speaking element approximately 20% or almost a million, that is, twice the population of Newfoundland or more than the total population of six of the other provinces. And it so happens that, for historical reasons which we do not have time to explore, Quebec comprises 83% of all French-speaking people in Canada; this gives us a kind of moral responsibility to speak not only as prime minister of a province like the others but also as the spokesman for a cultural group which is obviously different from the Canadian majority

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group. This does not mean - I want to reassure my friends, the premiers who have French-speaking people in their provinces - this does not mean that, in the field of education, I want to take the place of Mr. Robarts, Mr. Robichaud or Mr. Weir, or any premier who has in his province a certain proportion of French-speaking Canadians.

Incidentally, it is paradoxical that the people who are shocked by the genocide occurring in certain wars in certain countries, who are distressed by certain measures comparable to genocide, are the very people who shrug off without scruple as completely insignificant the destiny of more than a million French-speaking Canadians living outside Quebec. This is an illogical attitude, perhaps dictated much more by strictly political and demagogic considerations than by serious motives.

As far as I am concerned, I am not willing to sacrifice the future or to worsen the lot of all French-speaking people outside Quebec. I believe it is Quebec's duty to be concerned about them and to endeavour, as we do at this Conference, to get the other provinces to hasten the introduction of new measures so as to respect our cultural duality, and to encourage those other provinces, as the need arises there, to permit French-speaking Canadians to feel somewhat at home and to enjoy the fundamental individual, family and community rights.

Mr. Chairman, it is perhaps advisable to state clearly at this point that, no matter what constitution we may live under in future, cultural exchanges in the widest, most comprehensive sense of the word, will always be necessary between Quebec and France as well as other French-speaking countries. Such exchanges are just as necessary for Canadians whose language and culture is French, as those which Canadians of English culture have always enjoyed without anyone raising the slightest fuss, commotion or scandal. And in a shrinking world, these exchanges can be expected to increase in number and intensity, without our ever forgetting that we live in North America and must stay here, that we are determined to stay here and endeavour to get along with the rest of Canada and North America.

I came here, as did my colleagues and advisers, to try to win over the provinces to a proposal which to some may seem fairly radical; a new constitution made in Canada by Canadians and for Canadians.

Of course, like everyone else, I realized that the problem could never be settled here. That was not the purpose of this Conference; since this is a conference for provinces only, it is not the place to settle the problem.

Even so, I came here to try to win over the representatives of the other provinces to this cause.

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I came here to try to win them over to a cause, that of a new constitution based on four principles, listed on page 14 of the preliminary statement, and which I would like to state again:

- (1) defining clearly the principles that are to guide Canadian political life;
- (2) working out a new distribution of powers and resources to promote development of the French-Canadian nation and free evolution of English-speaking Canada;
- (3) institutionalizing or establishing certain machinery for intergovernmental consultation, co-ordination and action;
- (4) modifying the operation of some Canadian organizations and institutions, modernizing others and creating new ones so that, as a whole, they may reflect Canada's binational identity.

Of course, such proposals may at first glance have led some to believe we were not prepared to respect a ten-member Canada. On the contrary, we agree to respect such a Canada, whatever the disparities in population and size between member-provinces. But we came here especially to try to convince the premiers and delegations of the other provinces to make changes that will modernize our Constitution. In short, I have before me or at my side an example of what I really seek for Quebec.

We noticed this morning that the Premier of Prince Edward Island is sitting on one of the chairs which were used during the Charlottetown Conference. You will have noticed that this chair, which is quite interesting to examine in detail, is in contrast with those occupied by the other premiers, myself included. The back of the chair occupied by the Premier of Prince Edward Island is in one piece, whereas the backs of our chairs are made of two pieces joined together. This may be symbolic, but we would like to give our Confederation, in addition to its geographic and demographic dimensions which we respect, another dimension which would not disturb the geographic boundaries, nor detract from the autonomy of the other provinces, nor put any obstacle in the way of their development, but which would give Canada, in which we are attempting to remain while keeping our collective dignity, this cultural dimension which I feel will be the common denominator of the world of the future. In proposing that the Conference be held, the Prime Minister of Ontario specified, as you will remember, that the point of this first meeting was not to arrive at clear-cut decisions and even less to



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write a new constitution here and now, but rather to explore the problem in a very general way and to exchange our views on what tomorrow's Canada should or could be. In this perspective, I consider that this Conference has achieved its purpose. Québec had a full opportunity to express her viewpoint. She also listened with much interest to those of the other provinces. On both sides, we contributed a lot of sincerity and conviction, but also a great measure of open-mindedness, so that no door has been closed; on the contrary new avenues have been opened which could channel the constitutional development of our country in the best possible direction.

Consequently, I believe that the dialogue is well under way and that it should continue. During our discussions, we were struck by the comparative ease with which we could reach agreement on problems that have no direct bearing on our cultural duality. We are all interested in eliminating economic disparities to the fullest possible extent, and in setting up the machinery for consultation and co-ordination which will enable us to progress together. I repeat that, in these matters, Quebec feels closely bound to the other provinces. On the other hand, it is clear that a lot remains to be done to harmonize relations between our two cultural communities, one of which has its main centre in Quebec. Will we be able to organize the structures of this two-partner Canada to which I alluded in my opening address in such a way that French Canadians may feel at home from coast to coast? I must admit that after three days of very friendly and most interesting discussion, the question still remains to be answered. By advocating a new constitution which would officially recognize the legal and practical equality of our two communities, I made as it were a bet on Canada, on its ability to be the homeland of all Canadians, regardless of language and culture. Will I win or lose my bet? That is not for me to answer. We have been asked over the past few years, and again at this Conference, what Quebec wanted. I think that in our preliminary statement and in the verbal explanations that we have given, we have said enough to allow us to reverse the question.

We have been asked for the last ten years, and many times during this Conference: "What does Quebec want?" We have started to prepare an answer and have done it in a formal way by setting up a constitutional committee in the Quebec Legislature on the motion of the Vice-Premier, here present, M. Bertrand, and accepted unanimously by the House while we were in the Opposition in 1963.

"What does Quebec want?" We have been asked that question many times. This will explain why we thought it useful to bring with us what is called a preliminary statement, in which we have, I hope, supplied some of the answers. But we have been working so hard on trying to define and to make known what Quebec wants that I feel that now the question could be turned back to you, and I should ask you "What does Canada want?"



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What does Canada want? Does Canada want to remain fossilized in structures devised in 1867? Does she necessarily want to be limited to the dimension defined by her geographic boundaries?

Is Canada to be simply a collection of ten provinces or is she ready to accept the world-size challenge of becoming a country which, in addition to being a ten-member federation, will also act as a cross-roads for all French- and English-speaking countries of the world, a country which as a complete entity has no territorial ambitions, and whose provinces have no territorial ambitions towards one another, no matter what they say in some circles?

We have no army, nor have we any intention of creating one in Quebec, and even if we wanted to create one we would never have the means to do so. So I just wish people would stop playing on this fear of territorial ambitions. I do not rule out the possibility, though it is remote, of having certain border questions reviewed by competent courts, but in the meantime we are carrying out a common development project without dispatching our respective armies (which incidentally are non-existent) or even having the members of our respective provincial police forces do battle between Newfoundland and Quebec. Ladies and gentlemen, our discussions were held in public and therefore the question is put to the conscience of all Canadians: What does Canada want? We hope that the answer will be constructive and that we shall finally be able to draw up together, gradually if necessary, a new constitution, not in order to turn everything upside down or start from scratch, but to bring order instead of confusion, clarity instead of obscurity, and harmonious relationships instead of our two solitudes. Mr. Chairman, this challenge is issued especially to today's young generation because we believe they want to take part in framing the structures that will shape their adult lives and the lives of their children.

We are today together, and I for one would like to feel that unanimously we are giving our youth the challenge of building the kind of country in which they, their children and grandchildren will live. I hope, and I am reasonably sure, that this Conference, Mr. Chairman, will in the future be considered by our children and grandchildren as a real, honest effort made by ten prime ministers or premiers to start something that will allow the youth of Canada, either of French expression or English culture, to live together in harmony, in solidarity, and to progress together.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me thank you again. We did not expect to settle all our problems here, but I must say I am satisfied with the start we have made. I think I speak for all the Conference delegates when I say that you and your co-workers have managed to make us feel at home in your midst. We believe this is the beginning of a new Canada, of the Confederation of the next hundred years; this is my prayer, my most sincere wish. Quebec will do her part and we hope that Canada will too.

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Hon. Mr. Donahoe:

Mr. Chairman, M. le Président, Gentlemen, Messieurs:

Nova Scotia would not wish this Conference to close without its appreciation of the significance and importance of the Conference having been expressed to those responsible for having called it and to all who have participated in it.

You, Mr. Chairman, told us as you opened the Conference, that it was called by reason of your concern for the future of our country.

You went on to express concern about developing tensions within Canada and more particularly about the direction in which our country is heading.

Nova Scotians share that concern. They too have wondered if the machinery of government that served over the last one hundred years to develop a great nation - for Canada is great - can still serve.

From a beginning of four small colonies to a fully sovereign state extending from ocean to ocean, occupying the whole of the northern part of this continent, we have wondered whether that machinery equals the task of serving us well for the second century upon which we are about to embark.

You, M. le Premier Ministre du Quebec, have joined this Conference in a spirit and with words which, although they make it quite clear that the reasons for concern exist, also bring the conviction that measures can be taken that will serve to preserve our nation with all its potential for future greatness.

When you said that you are here to open a dialogue into this Conférence sur la Confédération de Demain, which represents the initial stage in an exchange of views, you confirmed the faith of those who believe that the vision of the first Canadians, one hundred years ago, was destined to persist for the benefit of generations of Canadians to be born in the remainder of this twentieth century, in the twenty-first century and beyond.

Your position - the views of your French-speaking compatriots - has been expressed in a spirit of moderation, without truculence, yet lucidly and firmly.

Given the assumptions which opened this Conference - that Canada is, and of necessity must continue as a federal state, that change and reform cannot be resisted in the light of modern conditions, and that all Canadians must be able to feel that being a Canadian gives full scope for the full expression of their inherited aspirations and culture - who can fail to feel

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that the Premier of Nova Scotia was right, when he said at this table that the evident goodwill of all here present presents to us the best assurance that we will achieve an accommodation that will, at one and the same time, satisfy the minds and spirits of all Canadians and preserve and strengthen the form and substance of our Canada.

This Conference sought to determine aims and goals. It never hoped, and by its very make-up never could have hoped, to determine the constitution of the Canada of tomorrow. It has nonetheless been totally justified, because it has marked the first step towards that mutual understanding among Canadians which must exist before there can be any basis for the relief of those stresses and strains which appear to threaten our future.

Hopefully, the spirit of understanding which appears to have permeated this Conference is reciprocal, and each of the parties to the dialogue has a better appreciation of the views, and more particularly of the motives, of the other. Hopefully too, this understanding will continue and develop, not only among the representatives of government who make up the Conference, but in the hearts and minds of all Canadians, because only on such understanding can we base the greater Canada, to the development of which we all aspire.

Nova Scotia will approach all future discussions of Canada's future in the spirit so beautifully expressed by the late Governor-General, that great Canadian, Georges Vanier, when he said in what was perhaps his last address to the Canadian people, and I quote:

Divided we cannot attain the great destiny to which God has called us. Not only would further progress be impossible, we would lose the gains we have made in the past. But if we remain united, if we seek first and always the greater good and not the digressions which divide us, but the major bonds of shared heritage and common values which unite us - if we do these things then we can look forward to a future that will make the progress of this century seem pale by comparison.

Hon. Mr. Robichaud:

Mr. Chairman, when this Conference began, I suggested that its purpose was communication; a sharing of concerns and approaches for the sake of a revitalized nationhood.



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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

We all know that communication is not easy. But I believe that purpose has been achieved in these days to a very great degree. It is obvious that all of us have a much fuller understanding of the issues that confront Canada; the strength, the aspirations, the needs of all regions of Canada.

Most certainly, Mr. Chairman, these meetings have vindicated your faith that such a conference could make a creative contribution to the Canadian Confederation at this time.

For our part, we have sought to express issues that seem central to us.

Perhaps at this time, you will permit me to review our position very briefly.

We must reach for new forms, and for a new depth of partnership, between English and French Canada. It should be clear now to all of us that this is an essential task.

I don't believe it is overstating the issue to say that today in Canada we are engaged in a test of our integrity as a nation. Our honesty with ourselves is at issue; our openness to each other.

We dare not permit either of our founding cultures to become a ghetto. From coast to coast, we must do everything we can to ensure that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians shall feel at home in our country. They must not be strangers in their own house; but joint-tenants.

I believe that we have a clear responsibility to help our people understand the real nature of Canada's cultural duality. And I believe that if we take hold of that responsibility Canada can build a partnership that will be a giant force for creative advance and growth.

We in New Brunswick believe that we must use the forms and programs of education (and of other provincial services where possible) to give real, practical effect to our English-French partnership. Again I would quote a key passage from the preliminary statement of the Province of Quebec:

In a country like ours, we must begin by ensuring public education at all levels in Canada's two official languages wherever the English-or French-speaking group is sufficiently large. Obviously, this does not rule out the necessity of providing the French- or English-speaking groups with means of acquiring good command of the majority language in their environment.



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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

That is a perfectly reasonable goal and objective. It lies within our capabilities as provinces. It is something we can do now, through the openness of our attitudes and the design of our programs. It will do so very much to ensure that members of our two cultural "configurations" will not be cut off from their roots, their history, the deeply real and personal things of language and tradition.

And in the doing of this, all will be enriched. Whereas, if we will not do what clearly demands to be done - all will be diminished. Indeed, it is we who will foreclose the future of our country.

It was encouraging to hear that several provinces are responding in this situation with revisions and improvements in their education programs. I sincerely hope that all provinces will study this matter and accelerate improvement where revised programs have been undertaken.

The integrity of our nation also means that we must face squarely the serious economic and social disparities that exist in Canada. We must find more effective means to overcome them, and achieve for all Canadians in all regions, acceptable levels of opportunity and services.

And so, in the third place, New Brunswick believes that we must devise forms of federalism that will preserve a strong central or national government, while at the same time achieving a greater flexibility and appropriateness in the application of federal policies and programs.

Moreover, we must find better ways to direct national resources - through transfers, grants and in other ways - to the provinces, so that they may determine their proper growth priorities, and have the resources to carry out their responsibilities under the Constitution.

Much has been said about these matters in these days. I can assure you that the New Brunswick Government is very gratified indeed by the awareness shown by all participants of the pressing needs of our Atlantic region.

Even more important, we are impressed by the unanimity of views with respect to the need to find better ways to take account of regional differences and requirements, in the shaping and execution of national policy.

We believe that our federal-provincial procedures must be adjusted, or even institutionalized, to provide for much more effective forms of intergovernmental consultation and policy development.

We must have the kind of interaction between federal and provincial governments that will not result in the distortion of priorities; or in the development of shared-cost programs that do not relate adequately to the realities and needs of several provinces.

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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

Unless such improvements in our consultative forms are achieved, regional variations cannot be provided for successfully. In which case, the division of authority and responsibility under the Constitution will continue to be violated, or obscured in a manner that will not serve the best interests of our federalism.

We believe that we need not shy away from reviewing our Constitution. We do not have to start from zero - we have a basic constitution. But we should not shy away from reviewing it, making amendments or modifications when they are needed. We need not be afraid to amend it and revise it, for the sake of helping Canada achieve its cultural, social and economic objectives in the years ahead.

The strikingly different nature of our country after its first century - its economy and its world position - may well suggest structural changes or adjustments in our constitutional forms. We should not hesitate to examine that possibility, and seek changes that will commend themselves to Canada and its provinces at this time.

Where, then, do we go from here?

I should like to suggest what I regard as practical and appropriate responses:

1. The provincial ministers of education are to meet next week. I would like to propose that this Conference request that meeting to do one thing in addition to establishing a Council of Education.

I believe that the ministers of education, perhaps through their new agency, should review the field of English and French language instruction in situations where either is in a minority position. They will have the findings and studies of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission to help them out!

I would like to think that the provinces - working together - could find ways to improve the programs of the provinces in this regard. I believe that they could provide a clearing house for ideas; could together tackle the problem of teacher-training programs that will further this work.

In other words, I am suggesting that the provinces themselves engage in solid and productive consultation, to do what we can do in our area of constitutional responsibility to make a contribution to deepened French-English cultural partnership.

2. I believe that we should all prepare to play a key role in the federal-provincial conference that Prime Minister Pearson has called for early 1968.

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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

The agenda of that conference is not limited to the matter of a Bill of Rights entrenched in the Constitution. Let us ponder the issues that have emerged at this meeting, and suggest for the agenda those things that now should be discussed in the full federal-provincial context.

In other words, let this present Conference be used as Prime Minister Robarts planned that it should, as a meeting that would be preliminary to other searching meetings; the first step in a series of meetings by means of which our national goals can be clarified, and our constitutional forms renewed for the second century of our nationhood.

3. Within our provincial jurisdictions, let us ensure that our provincial stance is not blindly parochial, but has a national frame of reference. I think we now have evidence of that - that we are not being parochial, but we think as Canadians, as Canadians first, regardless of our cultural background.

Separatism is not acceptable in any form - or in any locale of Canada. And separatism (or parochialism if you prefer) does not have to be a political slogan to be - in fact - an operational approach.

That is why a deepened cultural fraternity is so essential to Canada! That is why a nation-wide determination to overcome regional disparities is so necessary!

There are those who find the pleas for a Canada of dual cultures unpalatable to them. There are those who would prefer to ignore the obligation to achieve acceptable opportunity and services for all Canadians.

But what is the alternative?

A balkanized Canada that is no Canada at all!

A partnership that disintegrates because of the insensitivity of some, and the frustration of others!

That is not what any of us wants. This Conference makes that perfectly clear.

So we must now do everything we can do within our powers under the Constitution; in partnership with the federal government; and in growing understanding and appreciation of each other.....we must do everything we can do - now! - to fulfil the terrific possibilities that are ours as a nation.



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(Hon. Mr. Robichaud)

I think we must be recognized throughout Canada, whoever we are, as Canadians. We have done a lot in these last few days, I believe, to achieve that. We can do more and I think we are willing to do more.

Thank you very much.

Hon. Mr. Weir:

Mr. Chairman, I very much welcome the opportunity of joining these deliberations and I would like to thank you, Sir, and the heads of delegations for understanding my inability to be here for the first sessions.

My colleague, Mr. Evans, presented the preliminary Manitoba statement at that time and I do, of course, support those views completely.

Inasmuch as I am the only premier who has not yet presided over a meeting of his cabinet council, you will understand, Mr. Chairman, that I could not take an active part in detailed discussions of the important propositions before us.

I can assure my colleagues at the conference table that Manitoba does have views on the matters raised in the past few days. In the proceedings now drawing to adjournment, many of these views have been very well expressed by other delegates.

I would like to summarize, if I may, the impressions that Manitoba will take from these meetings and in this I will have outlined our attitude, I think, to future action.

I need hardly underline the importance that this occasion has had for me as a first-time participant. I view with the utmost concern the serious problems which formed the substance of the discussions. I recognize fully the opportunity presented to us all to provide some light for the future direction of this country.

We have heard something of the measures taken in various provinces to provide full opportunities for instruction and training in the French language, one of the two languages for which specific provision is made in the British North America Act.

I do not propose to go into great detail in reference to Manitoba's arrangements. However, I want to relate the basic steps that we have taken.

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(Hon. Mr. Weir)

Some three years ago, the Government of Manitoba introduced major amendments to the Public Schools Act to provide for shared services with private schools. This was a major step in extending equality of educational opportunity.

This year, Canada's Centennial year, with unanimous support of its Legislature, the Province of Manitoba put into force Bill 59, to provide for both French and English language instruction in the basic subjects of our curriculum wherever and whenever practicable.

This enactment confirmed the special place in Manitoba's instruction programs which the French and English languages share. This is, as I have said, a basic reflection of the provisions of the British North America Act, which gives special status to those two languages in Canada.

In these two measures in Manitoba, well known to our good friends in Quebec, we have underlined that the citizens of our province and those of any other region coming into Manitoba have the right to feel fully at home. Every Canadian has the basic right to be at home anywhere in Canada.

Going beyond the rather specialized subject of our educational system, I recognize the broader problems of concern today. In particular, I have examined the statements by the Prime Minister of Quebec. The opportunity he has extended to us in his invitation to consider carefully the views he has advanced is one that commends itself to me as most worthwhile.

I want to repeat Mr. Johnson's words exactly. In describing the preliminary statement and his province's views on the situation in Canada today, the Prime Minister of Quebec said:

We have prepared this document especially for our English-speaking fellow-countrymen and we should like them to study it with the same equanimity as we sought to attain in preparing it. For we are here to open a dialogue and we take it for granted that this Conference is only the first of many. For us, it represents the initial stage in an exchange of views, an exchange for which the pressing need is now apparent and whose scope will be unprecedented.

I wish to say for Manitoba that our answer to your very reasonable invitation, Sir, is a firm "yes." Manitoba will indeed take into serious consideration each substantive point raised by Mr. Johnson and by the other delegates here.

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(Hon. Mr. Weir)

I would expect at future meetings to give a specific response in terms as reasoned and careful as those in which the Prime Minister of Quebec has re-stated the views of his province.

Mr. Chairman, I emphasize my hope that we can find practical solutions to the real problems facing many of our people.

I do believe, as Mr. Evans said on Manitoba's behalf on the opening day of this Conference and as the Prime Minister of Ontario has observed, that when we come to consider constitutional changes all eleven partners of our Confederation must participate.

For the young person living in a region where jobs are scarce, for new families needing to establish homes, for the people in our work force whose skills have been passed by in our technological advance, for the farmer who must operate always in the squeeze between high costs and uncertain markets, for the small businessman struggling to keep individual initiative alive in a massive industrial age - all of these people feel the real impact of the problems of under-development wherever they live in Canada.

When problems of language and human dignity are added to the basic challenges of earning a living, of learning, of training for a job, then we have to understand and react to that special urgency realistically and practically.

I welcome the spirit and the words of those who have spoken at this Conference. In my opinion, Manitoba is willing to consider the process of change necessary to make our Constitution more effective.

I believe that solutions to these practical problems faced by Canadians can only be worked out in the spirit of unity. Surely we all have the same objective, to build this country better; to ensure that Canada continues in a sound and satisfying progress in which all of our citizens have an assured place.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, Manitoba will continue to give fair, realistic and positive consideration to all views and how best to ensure our progress as a united country.

We believe that this meeting has been a practical and valuable beginning of a new century of co-operation and understanding among all Canadians.

Thank you.



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Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Mr. Heald, who is speaking on behalf of the Prime Minister of Saskatchewan.

Hon. D. V. Heald (Attorney-General of Saskatchewan):

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

On behalf of Saskatchewan, first of all I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on the masterful way and the most gracious way in which you have presided over the deliberations of the past four days and tell you how very much my premier and myself and the members of our delegation have appreciated and, I hope, benefited from these discussions. And what is more important, I suppose, we believe that all Canadians in all parts of this country will, as a result of these deliberations, be more aware of the problems which do threaten our national unity and will have an opportunity to consider some of the possible solutions which have been suggested during this Conference.

I would like to summarize briefly the position which Saskatchewan takes in respect of some of the matters which have been raised here, and I will be re-stating some of the positions which Premier Thatcher made in our opening statement on Monday.

We do not agree that any province should be given a special status and special concessions which would not be available to all provinces, and Premier Thatcher made that very clear in his opening statement.

Secondly, we agree that there must be a strong central government and many others, of course, have stated this position also. We feel that to have a strong central government, it must have the basic powers which it now has; it must have the powers which will enable it to control our economy so that every person can be given equality of opportunity wherever he may live. Prime Minister Robarts, you stated in your remarks this morning that one of the items in respect of which a great deal of consensus has been reached is the necessity for greater equal economic opportunity for all Canadians, and we would certainly agree with this.

As the Premier of Manitoba mentioned - he mentioned briefly the problems of the prairie areas - the problem of agriculture, of course, is of great concern to the people of Saskatchewan. The farmers of western Canada and the farmers of Saskatchewan are caught in a very vicious cost-price squeeze and we, of course, are in favour of anything which will work toward greater equality of opportunity across the country.

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(Hon. Mr. Heald)

To provide and maintain this equality of economic opportunity, we feel that the central government must continue to have the residual power which it presently has.

With the greatest of respect, Mr. Prime Minister - I have read your statement, which is a very forceful and a very clear and a very concise statement of the desires of the Province of Quebec; and commencing at page 16, proceeding through 17, 18, 19 and 20 and so on, you detail the wishes of the Province of Quebec so far as powers are concerned - and with the greatest of deference, I fail to see how all the powers asked for by the Province of Quebec could result in the central government of Canada having much power left. We would be concerned about this.

With regard to the Constitution, we continue to feel, as was so eloquently expressed by the Attorney-General of British Columbia and the Premier of Alberta, that a provision for delegation of powers by any three or more provinces to the federal Parliament and by the federal Parliament to any three or more provinces would make the present Constitution more flexible. We agreed with this at the constitutional conference in 1964, and of course it was agreed by most of the other provinces at that time.

Mr. Prime Minister of Quebec, you have said this morning, and Saskatchewan agrees wholeheartedly with what you said, that the dialogue has begun and must continue. We would agree with this. We would be willing and pleased and glad to participate in any future considerations of constitutional amendments, but we would really like to see the Province of Quebec give this delegation technique or concept a fair trial, to see whether it would meet most of the difficulties which you now encounter.

We believe that it would be very helpful in the matter of legislation dealing with securities, for example, highway transport, natural products marketing, to mention a few fields. We think that the technique of delegation would work very well in these areas.

We think that even within the framework of the existing Constitution there has been and there is great opportunity for future co-operation between the federal and provincial governments.

I think, Sir, of the matter of deposit insurance, where there was much co-operation between your government and the Government of Canada and the governments of some of the other provinces to develop this new legislation, which most of the provinces and the federal government have passed. This is an example of co-operation which can exist even within the present framework of the Constitution of Canada.

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(Hon. Mr. Heald)

But I repeat, Saskatchewan would willingly and gladly participate and make such contribution as we can to any future dialogue in respect of amendments to the Constitution.

We would also like to see serious consideration given to improving the machinery of federal-provincial relations, as has been stated by some of the other delegates. We feel that much remains to be done in improving the co-ordination of federal and provincial policies and programs. We agree with the other provinces that changes should be made in the planning and scheduling of federal-provincial meetings, so as to improve the entire process of communication and co-operation amongst the various governments of Canada.

In conclusion, I would like to convey our thanks again to Mr. Robarts for calling this much-needed Conference, and join in thanking him for the very excellent arrangements which have been made. I am sure we have all found plenty of food for both mind and body, and we look forward to further meetings of the same high calibre either here or elsewhere. Thank you.

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

Mr. Prime Minister, I am not going to endeavour to give a formal summary by way of closing remarks this morning on the subject of this Conference, Confederation of Tomorrow.

These remarks - no matter what a person may say in the concluding moments of a conference - are in the transcript, and in that transcript is the opportunity for all thoughtful Canadians to receive, in a studied and careful fashion, very clear evidence of the best thinking which can be put forward on the subject of our country's future in current terms.

In saying this, Mr. Prime Minister, I compliment you on the initiative in the Conference and in the way it has turned out, because I come from a part of Canada which is geographically removed from the focal point of perhaps the most important issue before us; and I make mention of that fact only in the light of the way in which our deliberations these past few days are now reaching the public.

We have in Canada, I suggest, a very serious question of communication between ourselves, which has nothing to do with the language we speak. I am not commenting in any critical way about press coverage or the literature of the period, but it is a fact which has to be recorded - and in the light



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of the fact that people are now watching what we are doing, I think we serve a useful purpose by reminding them that, in the mechanics of daily reporting, the limitations of space and the need to make news interesting do not favour the reasonable and reasoned point of view of the Prime Minister of Quebec; do not favour a point of view which might be appropriate to my province because of a different attitude on some questions.

In other words, a phrase is taken, a small capsule in the midst of an earnestly-presented position is lifted and publicized. And I may say we have had some marvellous examples out of Quebec of utterances in recent days which, I am sure, reflect not the reasoned position of the Province of Quebec, but reflect a point of view which is interesting, which is news-worthy, and which I believe in my heart to be completely untypical of the nature of the discussion with which the average citizen of this country must be concerned in the next hundred years, or the next five or the next six months.

In other words, the tendency of the media is to emphasize the extreme, but it is not in the extreme that this nation's future is going to be settled. It is not in the extreme.

I suggest that there have been many unkind things said about the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; but in the opportunity given to fellow politicians (we inform ourselves in our own mysterious ways, which seem to involve the process of osmosis), in the position which is now ours, through the attention which this gathering, unique and important as it is, is receiving from TV, for people to see Mr. Johnson for the first time in their living room, so to speak, in the midst of this discussion; or to hear Mr. Robarts, as Chairman of this Conference, state the concern of the heartland of Canada, so to speak, about this general question before the nation; or to hear Mr. Robichaud - who represents a province very close to the heart of British Columbia, I may say, because so many of us have come from there in one way or another - to hear Mr. Robichaud speak with the duality of personal experience about this question - this is an experience which is really for the first time given to Canadians.

And this is important: that Canadians in the midst of this general discussion receive their impressions not third hand or by formal statements mailed out, but have an opportunity to see the personalities involved, to hear the inflection of the voice and its intonation, and observe the demeanour of the speaker and in this way form a judgement about the elements of Canada's future which are important.

Now we can all agree, and certainly it has been established at this Conference, that we have an immense base on which to build, because there has been nothing in our discussions diverse - or in the different emphasis which we place upon points which we feel to be important to us - there has been nothing uttered in these past four days, in the Conference or outside the Conference, which in any degree diminishes the Canadianism of our entire forum.

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And those who would imply that we are involved in something which is diminishing Canadianism have the evidence before them that this is not what we are engaged in.

This, I think, more than anything else - the atmospherics of the participants, the opportunity of personal judgement by citizens - for the first time, we have been able to cut through the fog of confusion which has sprung up about the relationship of French- and English-speaking people in Canada.

And this, I suggest, is perhaps the most important thing we have done, if we have done anything important at all in these last few days, and I applaud it. I applaud it.

I am not going to try to sum up things which were, in our view, important. I think the meek are not inheriting this platform, the Attorneys-General are, in Saskatchewan and in Nova Scotia and I myself, by reason of the unavoidable absences of our Prime Ministers. We represent three people around this table who have been through constitutional discussions for a number of years, and I don't have to tell anyone here how difficult it is to arrive at a constitutional consensus.

I think we have established here that everyone has an open mind on the subject, that we ought to do something about improving the Constitution. But eventually we are going to have to analyze everything said, we are going to have to answer just four little questions, if we are ever going to get ahead.

We are going to have to answer, so lawyers can put it down in black and white - What? How? Where? And when? And until we answer those questions about constitutional change, it is all conversation.

Now I have got the Constitution off my mind. I regard this as being important - because I felt a little frustrated after 1964. After you have sweated over that Constitution and you have got the agreement of ten premiers and the national Prime Minister, which is an unheard-of accomplishment in any country, after you have got that far and nothing results; then you feel - well, maybe something went wrong along the way. And I do not say nothing resulted for lack of good reason. I am not implying this, Mr. Johnson.

What I am saying is, it illustrates the difficulties which we face in re-ordering our constitutional apparatus.

But it is all to the good that we are talking about the things we have to face in the future, apart from constitution and apart from culture, because what I am going to say now has a lot to do with culture.

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You are not a more cultured man if you are a poor one. You may be a cultured man in spite of this fact, but you are not a better one, or better able to enjoy your culture if you don't have enough "argent" in your pocket; and it is important that we address ourselves to this, because Canadians are a very practical people, and those who are not leave the country.

Last week, the national Department of Labour put out the average weekly wage record in the country. Now I won't name the provinces, or the regions involved, but we have this disparity behind the leader: one area, six per cent below; another area, twelve per cent below; another area, fourteen per cent below; and the lowest area, twenty-five per cent below, in average weekly wages, against the top region in the country.

Now I come from British Columbia, one generation deep in British Columbia, quite a number of generations in New Brunswick, and you don't have to tell me what the problems of the Atlantic provinces are. I grew up with that, because that is part of the business of being a Canadian - you have a lot of duality and multiplicity in your background, if you stay in the country long enough.

If we are going to attack the questions which confront Canada in the next one hundred years, we are going to have to make it possible for the Maritimers, not just to have a better division of tax money, but also to do their own job properly in their own area, without the necessity of having to move out west or into Ontario to enjoy the standards of living which are pretty well established in some parts of the country. And similarly, we are going to have to do that for one or two other areas.

In other words, the drive which we will have to exert, even without altering the Constitution, in revising commercial policy, in revising international trading policy, is going to have to be enormous, and it is going to have to represent some considerable break with the past. Otherwise we shall look forward to a continuation in the next one hundred years, for want of new ideas, of something of the trends of the past one hundred, because the relative disparities of our communities in Canada have really not altered in the past one hundred years, not very much, certainly not in the last forty-seven at all.

And this remains a basic question of new thought with which we are going to have to confront ourselves, if we continue to get elected - or someone is going to have to think about it - otherwise Canada is going to be ill-prepared to match, in its national objectives, the continental standards made attractive to our people by the fact that we live alongside the most industrialized and materially the most successful nation on earth.



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(Hon. Mr. Bonner)

Prime Minister Smallwood mentioned the other day something about California and wasn't quite certain of its size. California, Oregon, Washington - territories which loom immense in our minds for a variety of reasons - can be tucked into our province easily, into your province very easily, Mr. Robarts, and be lost entirely in the Province of Quebec.

California alone, twenty million people, no more than live in the entire Dominion of Canada, has a gross national product appropriate to their state thirty per cent greater than that of the entire Dominion at this point.

This is an immense disparity in terms of our developing - our capacity to develop - the larger half of the North American continent, which is our great inheritance. And I only mentioned it in this connection because I was reading some of these articles in the press, which fill us all with delight. It is implied perhaps in one or two that we have a material preoccupation. Well, we all like to pay our bills.

In putting before this Conference either questions confronting the constitutional realignment of the country or concerning the need to address ourselves specifically to questions affecting economy, my concern was to emphasize that if we do not take care of these two technical and important areas, and if we allow the public to believe that the solution of linguistic and cultural questions alone is the salvation of the nation, then the discussion of this past few days will not have served the national interest.

And since to this province there was some attention paid in bringing these bread and butter matters to the fore, I thought in this winding-up period this morning I would re-emphasize it.

Because I feel very keenly that Canadians can do anything anybody else on earth can do, and do it better. All we have to do is make up our minds how we are going to go about it. And this means, I suggest - with approval of Prime Minister Johnson's suggestion - an adaptation in this country, an adaptation to our requirements of notions of planification, and the development of a more deliberate interprovincial co-operation on things economic, and indeed a more meaningful federal-provincial co-operation in the development of economic policy.

And without deliberately opposing, by specifically putting to the attention of the Conference (and I trust to the nation), the desirability of moving in alongside some of the important emotional questions discussed, the day-to-day questions that we are going to have to solve to pay our national bills, to make our provincial finance ministers happy by the enlargement of our gross national product - if we are not going to address ourselves to those

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fundamental questions, we may wind up the most culturally organized people on earth, and the most frustrated because we have not developed economically alongside.

And I must thank you for the opportunity this morning, Mr. Robarts, of speaking on behalf of my province in this fashion because I feel very keenly that we have the talent; for the first time in Canada we have enough people; we are, even in our unsatisfactory state of accomplishment, earning enough money; we are saving enough of our earnings to do something important with the country on our own responsibility. And this is for the first time in a hundred years, because it has taken this long to put in the base; it has taken this long to develop the techniques; it has taken this long to put ourselves in a position of take-off. And these, I suggest - the opportunity for economic take-off, in addition to the opportunity of settling cultural and linguistic questions - are in their duality, or triality, the real problems which are going to confront Canada in the next one hundred years.

Hon. Mr. Campbell:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

When I arrived this morning, I found my chair missing and a new one in its place. This is one of the chairs in which sat one or more of the Fathers of Confederation when they met in Charlottetown in 1864. I was suggesting to the Prime Minister of Quebec that I wasn't certain whether this chair was made in England or in Prince Edward Island; but perhaps the most important thing is, whatever its origin, it is now Canadian. And this may be very true of the many people who live in this land of ours.

I was interested in the comparison which you made between the back of this chair and the back of your chair. I think of the back as forming only part of the whole and I think of this chair as comprising many different fabrics, the metal, the leather, the wood, the glue; and also of many different parts.

Besides the back, we have the legs and the arms, and the seat, and so on. And yet we have one chair. And to serve the purpose, to serve its purpose, it relies upon all its parts. In this respect, there may also be a parallel with the matters which we have been discussing here for the last few days.

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Mr. Chairman, during these past few days I have watched two main issues emerge from this Conference; and while the issues themselves are no surprise, I am both impressed and dismayed at the reaction to them.

In the first place, I am greatly impressed with the way in which the problem of regional economic disparity has been received by the various provinces. Without exception, each delegate enunciated clearly and without qualification, the need to achieve a greater measure of economic equality in the regions, and the Atlantic region in particular, as one of the top priority goals for the next one hundred years of Confederation.

On the other hand, the question of constitutional change has produced no similar unanimity. While no one has rigidly opposed the idea of constitutional change, only a few delegations have displayed any great enthusiasm for meeting the problem head-on at this time, as a matter of some considerable importance.

I want to make it clear, Mr. Chairman, that Prince Edward Island considers itself one of those delegations prepared in the national interest to agree to constitutional reform.

Other reactions have ranged from mere dismissal, as a problem with only philosophical dimensions, to caution and pessimism, arising from perhaps elusive and legalistic interpretations of Canadian history.

While I do not regard constitutional change as an end in itself, nor as the exclusive means of solving regional economic problems, it has become increasingly apparent that it may be the only available means to guarantee national unity, to which we all subscribe.

How can we talk about national purpose, or the establishment of a Canadian identity, if we are not prepared to react vigorously to a problem causing concern, dismay, and abject dissatisfaction to a great portion of our countrymen?

And in this regard, Mr. Chairman, our position is clear. If a goodly portion of Canadians regard the Constitution as a barrier to their development and a major problem, then it is de facto a problem - not just for them but for all of us.

It was with this in mind that I raised several questions earlier this week. And I appreciate the spirit in which Prime Minister Johnson has received these questions.

The unity of our country relies in great measure upon the degree of understanding accorded those most vital issues. I most sincerely suggest



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that because the Government of Quebec speaks for the people of that province, so also must it assume the responsibility of enunciating, with clarity and with candour, the aspirations of those Canadians who are resident in the Province of Quebec. A more precise definition of these aspirations, in response to these and other questions, will unquestionably enable English-speaking Canadians to better appreciate and understand the Confederation of tomorrow to which French Canadians aspire.

In regard to these needs, and those of Quebec in particular, there are many divergent views emerging, and their implications for all Canadians cover a wide spectrum. These we have to understand; there is only one way to do so - to open the door for discussion, and to establish machinery to first gain control of our Constitution, and then to restructure it to meet the needs of all Canadians.

In this early stage of such discussions, our concern is two-fold: first, that we fully understand the implications of individual provincial needs; and this applies to both cultural and economic aspirations. For example, Mr. Chairman, certain of the Quebec suggestions - on the surface at least - ran directly against our prime objective of preserving a Canadian federal state headed by a strong and effective central government. We, therefore, attempted to resolve this conflict by seeking further details, and this Conference has been most helpful in this regard.

Secondly, I think we have to make at least one firm decision at this Conference (and I believe that the Premier of New Brunswick has made this suggestion as well): I don't believe that as the provinces of Canada we can merely leave this constitutional matter where it now stands.

We shall all, perhaps individually, be participating in a similar conference in Ottawa before long, and I believe that we have a responsibility to take some collective initiative in this matter. This Conference has presented us with the opportunity, and we should exploit it.

There has been no great discussion as to the ways and means of coping with the other priority problem which faces us, that of persistent regional economic imbalance. This, Mr. Chairman, is where I may have to depart from the guide-lines for this Conference, since it is a matter of money; not, however, money which is merely transferred gratuitously from one section of Canada to another by virtue of some federal mechanism, but money and resources which can be brought to bear in a planned way on the development potential of this region.

I can't presume to speak for Canada, Prime Minister Johnson, but, in reply to your question of what Canada wants, I know that, as a Canadian, I can say that Canadians want Quebec and Canadians want to do their utmost

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to break down the barriers to national unity. I think that through this week, through this Conference, the Canadian people through their delegations have disclosed a willingness and a desire to work toward this end.

A number of approaches to constitutional change have been suggested in one way or another and, undoubtedly, all possess a common characteristic of being difficult. But it seems to me that our starting point does not have to be firmly embedded in the past. A rigid application of values of continuity has perhaps less intrinsic merit than a fairly precise statement of the constitutional needs of Confederation as we see them developing in the future.

I am not going to go into all the arguments to justify the priority to be given to this problem at the national level. This has already been done, and I merely hope that they will be well remembered at the next federal-provincial conference when financial matters are of some considerable relevance.

However, in structuring mechanisms for intergovernment relationships for the future, I do want to emphasize the importance of applying the following criteria to the region problem.

First, there must be room for strong and effective provincial participation, and provincial fiscal capacity will have to be expanded to meet this role. This implies the specific requirement that equalization programs be more broadly defined and that the federal government retain the financial capacity to do so.

Secondly, this concept of regional balance must become manifest throughout the range of joint government programs, and not simply to the mechanism of a single agency. This implies a great deal more flexibility than presently exists in the machinery for the joint planning and execution of shared programs. Local needs must be reflected in individual programs, and local priorities must be applied to the selection of alternative programs.

And finally, Mr. Chairman, equality of opportunity must exist within the regions themselves and this entails something beyond the concept of the availability of some minimum standard of public services. Canadians in all parts of Canada must have the opportunity to pursue a full life within the bounds of their cultural environment. In other words, it should not be necessary for large numbers of Canadians to relocate in Toronto in order to effectively participate in the Canadian community. There are surely limits to this aspiration, limits imposed by practicality and so forth. But the main limitations lie in policy not in natural law.

However, there are also limits to the extent to which a region can, for generations, export its population as a means of avoiding social hardship, and not do it irreparable damage as a partner in Canadian Confederation.

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(Hon. Mr. Campbell)

Mr. Chairman, I join with my colleagues in extending the congratulations of the Prince Edward Island delegation to you on the way in which this Conference has been organized and conducted. I wish also publicly to acknowledge our appreciation for the hospitality extended to us last evening by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario.

I hope in some way at noon today I may have the privilege of reciprocating. I understand that Miss Canada may be a visitor to this building, and it would please me very much to introduce her to the other Canadian premiers and heads of delegations here.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Thank you very much, Mr. Campbell. I appreciate your comments about our hospitality. I can only say that upon occasion I have been right royally entertained in Charlottetown, so perhaps we have just had an opportunity on this occasion to repay some of the hospitality that we have had in the past in your very lovely province.

Hon. Mr. Manning:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, as we come to the conclusion of this historic Conference, I would like to reiterate the appreciation I expressed at the outset to the Government of the Province of Ontario for having convened and hosted this Conference and especially to you, Mr. Robarts, for the very distinguished manner in which you have served as the presiding officer of this very unique gathering.

You stressed in your remarks this morning that we had not met here for the purpose of arriving at any firm decisions. Rather this has been an occasion that, for the first time in Canadian history, has provided a nation-wide public forum in which the major problems confronting Canada at the end of her first century have been frankly and objectively discussed.

This in itself is a great achievement and is something of perhaps greater significance than we may appreciate at the present time. Certainly this is a step that should go a long way towards creating a greater public awareness of the problems this country faces, a greater public knowledge and appreciation not only of those problems, but of the concerns of those charged by the citizens of Canada with the responsibilities of government in the various regions of this country.



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I sincerely hope above all else that one of the results of this will be not only a greater public understanding of the matters that have brought us together, but a far greater involvement on the part of individual Canadians in the consideration of these very important matters.

I concur in what has been said by others that we must not delude ourselves and, more importantly, we must not delude the Canadian people into thinking that any profound conclusions have been reached at this particular Conference. We could not even say that there has been any great meeting of minds on the major issues that are at the root of the national problems we have discussed.

I concur, Mr. Chairman, with your opening remarks that we must not let our enthusiasm for what we have accomplished blind us to the magnitude of the tasks which are still before us and the problems which we have still to solve.

But I do submit that what we have accomplished here in addition to providing the value of the public forum I have mentioned has made clear to the Canadian people three important facts.

The first is that the very real problems confronting Canada are not mere figments of imagination on the part of a few irresponsible minorities in various regions of this far-flung nation. They are real, they are serious, and they demand the attention of all responsible Canadians no matter where they may reside.

Secondly, it has been made clearer than perhaps on any previous occasion that these national problems do embrace a wide range of public and governmental concern. There are not only the constitutional and cultural and linguistic problems, but, repeatedly throughout this Conference, emphasis has been placed on the close relationship between these matters and economic and financial problems, and the inter-relationship between the two levels of governments and between the various regions of Canada.

I hope there is a greater appreciation today of this wide range of diversity of major national problems all of which are inseparably bound up with the Confederation of tomorrow.

Thirdly I feel it has been clear to the Canadian people that we, as leaders of governments covering all the regions of Canada with their varying conditions and circumstances, are able to discuss these issues objectively and with mutual respect for viewpoints and convictions which often are in conflict with our own.

Surely this is of some significance, for I submit, gentlemen, there are no problems facing this nation today that are incapable of solution

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if intelligent men, prepared to accord equal respect for the concerns and viewpoints of others, no matter how widely they may disagree with their own, dedicate themselves as Canadians to the task of finding solutions.

We do not regard these problems as the major obstacles to the attainment of our common objectives, but I do see three major obstacles which we, as representing the governments of the provinces of Canada, must frankly recognize and help the Canadian people to recognize.

The first is the emotional prejudices which so easily beset and divide people in issues of the type we have discussed here. This, I submit, is a greater obstacle to an acceptable solution than the inherent characteristics of the problems themselves.

It is so easy for people to base their positions not on an objective assessment of the facts, but rather on their emotional reactions, and certainly we can agree that there are no areas in which such emotions run deeper or stronger than in areas that touch on racial and cultural and language issues.

The second obstacle we must recognize and successfully overcome is the danger of relying too heavily on legalistic means to attain objectives which, by their very nature, require a personal response and appreciation and even an enthusiasm on the part of individual Canadian citizens.

I do not want to be misunderstood in this, Mr. Chairman. I am not discounting for a moment the important role of the legalistic aspects of many of the problems we have discussed in the last few days, but I feel it appropriate to draw to the attention of this Conference that we must not lose sight of the fact that we cannot achieve the goals we desire by directing our attention to the legalistic end alone; and I would, with the greatest respect, appeal to our French-Canadian friends to give greater consideration to this fact. No matter what we may write into the Canadian Constitution or into any statute of this nation about language or culture, it is not going to influence, other than to a very insignificant degree, the response of the individual Canadian citizen.

We are not going to generate an enthusiasm on the part of English-speaking Canadians to speak French, merely by writing something into the Constitution with respect to the status of that language. We are not going to generate within the individual Canadian any greater enthusiasm or appreciation for the richness of the French culture merely by trying to spell it out in our Constitution. These are not the things that generate the desired response on the part of the man and woman on the street; he couldn't care less whether these things are in the Constitution, because not one thousandth of one per cent are ever going to read the Constitution anyway.

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The individual appreciation and response which is fundamental to achieving the goal is secured primarily by the individual's coming to recognize the intrinsic value of these things for their own sake. They are not matters in which you can incite this response by the legalistic approach; and I repeat when I say that I am not writing off the role of constitutional change - I am simply pointing out that this other aspect which is even more important to the achievement of our objective, be given equal recognition.

This, Mr. Chairman, leads me to the third obstacle we have to overcome, and this has already been referred to very eloquently by the representative of the Government of British Columbia, Attorney-General Bonner. I therefore will not enlarge on it, other than to comment from perhaps a little different angle, because of the importance I attach to this issue from the standpoint of obtaining in the days ahead the Canadian response required to generate this individual appreciation of the intrinsic value of each other's culture.

I refer to the danger of a very regrettable backlash that can develop if the problems and the legitimate concerns of all Canadians continue to be distorted by the news media of this country out of their true perspective, as was so clearly expressed by Mr. Bonner this morning.

I am not referring to any distortion of these matters by the representatives of this Conference; this has very obviously not been the case. Everyone who has spoken these last four days has gone out of his way to fill out the total context of the things we have considered, but I submit that when the concerns and the aspirations of French-speaking Canadians are represented to the Canadian people, through the news media, as the only real and urgent issues pertinent to the preservation of Confederation, this is inviting a backlash which is both unnecessary and most regrettable.

When, at the same time, the concerns and aspirations of all other Canadians are portrayed by the news media as secondary to the interests of French Canadians, this is the kind of thing that creates a very unfortunate, adverse public reaction.

Those who expound and support the concerns and aspirations of French Canada are made to appear as the only ones in touch with reality and the only ones really concerned for the preservation of Confederation, while those who express the equally legitimate concerns and aspirations of 14 million non-French Canadians are branded as ignorant bigots without knowledge and appreciation of Canada's real and urgent problems - these are not my terms, they are taken from the newspapers. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that this does not create in Canada the kind of enthusiastic public appreciation and response which is needed for the solution to our problems, and it can create a very serious backlash. For that reason, this needs to be drawn to the attention



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of the Canadian public and they need to be helped to understand that this certainly is not the viewpoint of our French-Canadian friends. It certainly is not the viewpoint expressed by the Prime Minister of Quebec; it certainly has not been the viewpoint of the leader of any government around this conference table, and I am convinced it is not the viewpoint that you will find anywhere in Canada. It is a completely distorted viewpoint which is being fed to the Canadian people, with a great deal of danger to the solution of the problem in which we are concerned.

I conclude these remarks with a brief observation regarding the position of my own province, as far as I can represent it.

I can say without reservation, to our French-Canadian friends, that I believe we do understand and appreciate your aspirations and concerns. We have in our province a goodly number of French-Canadian citizens who are highly respected, who live and work and play together with the rest of us with the greatest friendship and goodwill, through whom we have come to appreciate and understand what I have referred to as your aspirations and concerns.

I believe I can truthfully say on behalf of the people of Alberta - I can certainly say on behalf of the Government of Alberta, and I interject we have had the endorsement of our people over some reasonable period of time - that Alberta takes second place to none in our willingness and in our earnest desire to work with our French-Canadian friends, and with all other Canadians, in resolving in justice and equity the existing problems, and in removing any legitimate grievances. I want to make that position very clear.

We simply ask in return that those problems be resolved in a context that gives comparable recognition to the equally legitimate concerns and aspirations of all Canadians, whether they be racial or cultural or linguistic or economic in all of the regions of this country.

We ask this, not merely because it is obviously just and right, but because it is absolutely essential if we are to engender the national appreciation and response necessary to a successful and lasting solution to the problems which have brought us together in this Conference on the Confederation of tomorrow.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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Hon. T. A. Hickman (Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Newfoundland):

Mr. Chairman, I deeply regret that my Premier, Premier Smallwood is unable to be present today for the closing session. We are all aware that he was obliged to undergo surgery this morning, and I am very happy to report that the surgery has been completely successful. I suspect the recovery will be much more rapid than we had anticipated.

Coming as I do at the end of the line - and in Newfoundland we are getting accustomed to that position - I would like to endorse the remarks of the representatives of other governments in thanking you not only for presiding exceptionally well over this Conference and being a most gracious host, but for conceiving the idea of calling this Conference.

I feel that your idea of calling a conference to try and look into the future of this country, and to enable frank dialogue between all representatives and all cultures without expecting or encouraging any of us to make firm decisions or firm recommendations, has placed us all in a position that when future conferences are held - and indeed the conference has been called for Ottawa to review the Constitution and other matters in January or February of next year - that we will have a much deeper appreciation of the needs and the just demands and requirements of the people of this great nation.

I would like to reiterate the position of the Government of Newfoundland that was put so forcibly by my Premier a few days ago.

Apart altogether from the basic problems and the basic issues that have evolved during our discussion, we do stand firmly convinced that, no matter what is done, we must maintain a strong, unimpaired national government with the full authority to implement national objectives, to speak on our behalf on matters international, and to attempt to provide some equality of opportunity throughout Canada.

All representatives have agreed this morning and also during other deliberations, that the true, basic problems confronting Canada as it embarks on the second century of nationhood are (1) economic equality, if that is possible for everyone, and (2) the social-cultural problems that very properly concern Canadians of French origin.

I want to avail myself of this opportunity to assure Prime Minister Johnson that he will find in Newfoundland a very warm understanding of his problem, and a very enthusiastic willingness to work with him and to work with anyone in assisting, if we can, in solving the problems that are peculiar to Canadians of French origin; and, at the same time, strengthening the bond of friendship which exists among all ten provinces.

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(Hon. Mr. Hickman)

After all, Newfoundland and Quebec share a common, well defined, properly adjudicated border and we have been living in peace and harmony side by side now for many years; we note with some pleasure an influx, or it seems to be a desire of some of your former constituents to now become true loyal Newfoundlanders. We welcome them and assure them that they will feel at home and they do feel at home in our part of the world, and we will ensure that their great traditions are preserved and that they will live happily in the Province of Newfoundland.

I endorse the sentiments that have been expressed by the premiers of the three Atlantic provinces when they plead, and have successfully pleaded, that we must have on the eastern seaboard of this nation some equality of opportunity. We are all encouraged with the sympathy that we have received from the other Canadian provinces and leaders of governments here.

We will be most unwise, absolutely foolish, if we think that we can have economic parity throughout Canada. Geography prevents it. But I do believe that we are reaching the position where any overnment of Canada, aided and abetted by the provinces, is prepared to see that a minimum standard of living and a minimum economic opportunity is provided and made available to all Canadians, be it in British Columbia or in Newfoundland.

We have been deliberating and placing great emphasis upon the problem of trying to eliminate some of these inequities, and there is one field which, in my opinion, offers an excellent opportunity for strong national government to bring about some minimum standard which would be acceptable to all of us. I refer to the field of education.

The Economic Council of Canada and other similar organizations have indicated quite clearly that the great need, the great hope, for Canada today is equal opportunity in education. I would like to see, on a national level, a program instituted that I think is in force in some of the provinces in Canada now and known as the foundation program.

This program at the provincial level assures the people of that particular province that no matter where a child is born, that there will be a minimum standard, of education available to that child.

This does not preclude the welfare area from improving and going away beyond this minimum requirement.

It seems to me that if this philosophy was extended to the national level, it would meet with the unanimous approval of all Canadians. There is nothing sacred about it. The provinces are not completely free of blame for the reluctance of the national government to invade the educational field.



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(Hon. Mr. Hickman)

We won't be killing the sacred cow if we ask the national government to work with us to use some of the wealth of Canada in providing this minimum standard.

We still preserve the right, and I suspect we will preserve it for a long time - although even this is becoming more disconcerting to Canadians who are moving annually from one part of Canada to the other - we will still preserve the right of dictating and providing our own curriculum, our own type of education.

Even in that field, I believe we are sensing a change, we are sensing a demand from Canadians that they be able to move from part of this country to another, and still within the boundaries of Canada, without their children being subjected to ten different standards of education.

This is not the problem that is before us now, but I do say that, on the road to establishing some form of economic equality, the greatest opportunity lies in the hands of the Government of Canada, if they would only take a long, hard look at the basic education of our people.

The position put by Premier Robichaud of New Brunswick yesterday, when he asked - reasonably asked - that the federal government permit the provinces the right to decide - give them the right to decide on the priorities insofar as the spending of federal funds is concerned, is one that commends itself to us.

We have, for instance, Mr. Chairman, today, a rather unique, almost unbelievable situation where the Government of Canada, in its profound wisdom, has decided that there is a growing and great demand, an absolute need for medicare.

The fact that pretty well every province says no, and that most of the people say no, has not yet gotten through. But be that as it may, if we accept the position that this money is available, or will become available after we hear the dreadful news this evening, surely we should be given the opportunity and the right to decide if we want to use this money on medicare or in the field of education.

I would hazard a guess if the provinces were given a choice, that all of us, without exception, would leap at the opportunity of availing ourselves of these national funds, national moneys that are available, to use in the field where it is badly needed and where we must take some positive steps - that is, in the field of education.

This is the plea that my province makes, and has been making - that unless and until the national government looks at education as a great problem, one of the great problems of the nation, then we can write constitutions out until we are blue in the face and they will be meaningless.

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(Hon. Mr. Hickman)

I want also to congratulate and commend the Prime Minister of Quebec for his preliminary statement which was filed here at the opening session. There are many, many suggestions - Canadian suggestions - in that preliminary statement which are not only acceptable, I suggest to those around this table, but are most desirable and should be implemented as quickly as possible.

The suggestions of close co-operation in the fiscal field, the establishment and regularizing of conferences of this nature - something that is long overdue, the right of preserving your traditions, your linguistic rights - these receive our unanimous support.

Whilst we cannot accept the position that a completely new constitution is required at this time, we do feel that, within the framework of the British North America Act - and it is a miracle it was drafted so well that it could last one hundred years - there are changes which can be made and which will satisfy the reasonable aspirations of all Canadian people.

We ask for equality for all provinces, equal rights, equal constitutional rights for all provinces, and we firmly believe that within that context, this country's rights and traditions can be preserved.

May I close on the same note that the Prime Minister of Quebec closed. He appealed to this gathering to take note of the fact that young Canadians may be apprehensive over the future of their country. I am not that many years removed from the beat generation, but I think that I can say with some conviction that whilst Canadian youth may be concerned - somewhat concerned - over our future, they have absolute confidence that Canada as a nation will prosper and survive long beyond the next one hundred years.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

Are there any comments that anyone would like to make arising out of the statements - the discussion - we have had this morning?

Earlier this morning, the heads of delegations met and gave some consideration to what the future would hold for this Conference and for this gathering. I have reduced to writing what I felt to be the consensus, and perhaps if I were to read what I have here, then it could be open for comment from any of the delegations.

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

I might say that basically we want this Conference to continue. We want its results to be meaningful. We want a future course of action. We want an arrangement whereby there can be future courses of action.

We recognize that, as I said in the beginning, we are doing something new, and it is not always easy to foresee exactly what the next step would be. But we think that we have devised some means whereby our deliberations here will not just simply come to an end, because we all agree that that would be tragic, and we all agree that that cannot be permitted to happen.

We have had discussions here which lay the groundwork for further development, for further discussion, for further action in promoting the aims and the desires and the wishes of the people of Canada, as they have been expressed in this Conference in all their various facets and in their various frameworks - all of which, I might say, have been touched on in the discussions this morning.

We do not intend, as a conference, to permit this matter to end here. And with that objective in mind, and to ensure that the beginning is only a beginning, but doesn't remain a beginning and has a follow-up, I will read this:

That a committee of prime ministers and premiers to be entitled the "Continuing Committee of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference" be established; that its terms of reference be to analyze the proceedings and results of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference; and to explore the subjects and the forum for future discussion. The Committee will pay particular attention to the problems of constitutional changes; the rights and practices concerning the official languages; and regional disparities.

Excuse me, I have got so many pieces of paper here; I had two drafts; perhaps I should go back to this one: "that a committee of premiers," (and I believe the words "and prime ministers" has been added because in the translation of the French M. le Premier Ministre, there is no such term as premier in the French language) so you have:

a committee of premiers and prime ministers be established to be entitled "The Continuing Committee on Confederation".



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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

The terms of reference would be to analyze the proceedings and the results of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference and explore the subjects and the forum for future discussion. The Committee would pay particular attention to the problems of constitutional change; regional disparities; language practices and rights.

All governments, federal and provincial, will be consulted by the Committee.

It was suggested that the Committee be composed of the premiers and prime ministers of Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, and Alberta.

Does this, gentlemen, as I read it, express the wishes of the Conference?

Is there any comment that anyone would like to make concerning this Committee?

Hon. Mr. Johnson:

I will be pleased to report the resolution to my Prime Minister.  
(laughter)

Hon. Mr. Bonner:

That speaks very well for British Columbia too.

Hon. Mr. Robarts:

You know, just as a matter of interest, I tried to establish some sort of reason in this question of premier and prime minister. And I can only say, if you have tried, Mr. Bonner, as Attorney-General, it is practically

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(Hon. Mr. Robarts)

impossible to find any direction through it in the English language.

I think the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec should consider himself fortunate that there is no French translation of "premier" and therefore his problem is solved in a linguistic fashion.

Gentlemen, that brings us to the conclusion of this Conference. I would only say, in adjourning -as the lawyers say - sine die, I would express once again my very deep appreciation to you all for your kindness to the Chairman, your consideration of his task. I would express once again our thanks that you came here and have made such a truly meaningful contribution to the future of Canada.

This Conference stands adjourned.

APPENDIX A

RESOLUTION OF THE CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

THE CONTINUING COMMITTEE ON CONFEDERATION

That a committee of premiers and prime ministers, to be entitled the Continuing Committee on Confederation, be established.

Its terms of reference would be to analyse the proceedings and results of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference and explore the subjects and the forum for future discussions. The Committee would pay particular attention to the problems of constitutional change, regional disparities and language practices and rights.

All governments, federal and provincial, will be consulted by the Committee.



APPENDIX B\*

Government of Quebec

PRELIMINARY  
STATEMENT

Confederation of Tomorrow Conference

Toronto, November 27-30, 1967

\*The page numbers of this appendix  
correspond exactly to the original  
statement handed out at the Conference.

## INTRODUCTION

Our delegation is delighted to have this opportunity to set forth, before the representatives of the various governments gathered here, Quebec's objectives regarding the constitution she desires for the Canada of tomorrow.

Nor can she fail to acknowledge the great merit redounding to her sister province for having undertaken, at a most appropriate moment, to convene this Conference whose historic import we fully appreciate, and which historians will record as a decisive step in our country's development.

We have prepared this document especially for our English-speaking fellow-countrymen and we should like them to study it with the same equanimity as we sought to attain in preparing it. For we are here to open a dialogue and we take it for granted that this Conference is only the first of many. For us, it represents the initial stage in an exchange of views, an exchange for which the pressing need is now apparent and whose scope will be unprecedented.

The many difficulties along our road cannot serve as an excuse for refusing the challenge confronting us. And, at the present juncture, we do not believe we are really in any position to do anything but accept it.

- I -

## STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE

If we are to determine as fittingly as possible what the Confederation of tomorrow should be, we must first examine Canada as it is today.

### An imperilled confederation

We are now living in a divided country searching for identity and racked by inner tensions.

Why is this so? Why, when a few short years ago most people did not have the slightest premonition of such a crisis, why are some of us now suddenly obliged to accept as a working hypothesis the hitherto unthinkable possibility of Canada's dissolution? What has taken place which can account for the astonishment in some circles, the dismay in others at such a development?

What has happened is that Quebec, mainstay of French Canada, questioning the validity of the country's political structure, seeks a reallocation of powers between the two orders of government and concrete recognition for French Canada of rights equal to those always enjoyed by English-speaking Canada. Such aspirations, expressed more forcefully and consistently than ever before, first surprised English-speaking Canada and then produced opposition to what seemed a threat to the established order. In fact, we have reached the point where quite a few French-speaking Canadians believe that persistent misunderstanding makes any statement of their aspirations to English-speaking



citizens a waste of time. A considerable number among the latter, we realize, are satisfied with the present political system and hold that no concession should be made to the vague demands of what they believe to be a vociferous and extremist minority. Thus the two groups which a century ago established Canadian Confederation are becoming more firmly entrenched in their "two solitudes". More serious still, these two solitudes are increasingly out of touch with each other's reality; in the end, lack of co-operation between them can destroy Canada.

Quebec's representatives at this Conference are in an excellent position to assess the present state of mind among French-speaking Canadians living in Quebec and to foresee where it may lead if our country's two main cultural groups do not soon reach an understanding to rebuild Canada on new foundations.

#### A century-old experience

French Canadians assume that the 1867 confederative act was designed to let them develop in accordance with their own culture.

One hundred years ago, the Fathers of Confederation entrusted to the provinces both those spheres of activity which, at the time, seemed properly to depend on local initiative and those which seemed essential to protect language, religion and culture.

Today, after a century's experience, French Canadians have become aware of three things. First of all, whenever members of their community living in provinces other than Quebec have sought to obtain rights equal to those enjoyed by English-speaking Canadians, the 1867 Constitution has proved impotent. Of course, neither English Canada's nor the French-Canadian nation's rights are expressly acknowledged in the Constitution. Yet we might have expected French Canadians living outside Quebec to have been treated

with more understanding and greater broad-mindedness. Unfortunately this did not happen and numerical superiority was often used to withhold from French-language minorities basic community rights essential to their survival and development. They were even stripped of rights they already had. Eventually, French Canadians were, to all intents and purposes, reduced to feeling truly at home only within Quebec's borders, even though, despite everything, some French-speaking groups continue to survive in all provinces, especially in certain areas of Ontario, the Atlantic provinces and Manitoba.

The second thing French Canadians have noticed is that there has always been a clear tendency for the federal government to take over, partly or wholly, responsibilities assigned to the provinces in the 1867 Constitution. In Quebecers' eyes, the constitutional or political justifications with which the central government has sought to explain its encroachments have often smacked of sophistry. Certainly no one would say that during the last twenty-five or thirty years the federal government has acted against its will. All it needed as an excuse for action was inaction by some provinces. Provincial governments wanting to act on their own behalf then had to follow suit or lose major financial advantages. The story of joint programs is a good case in point.

And thirdly, French-speaking Canadians realize that the 1867 division of responsibilities between governments no longer permits the French-Canadian nation to develop as effectively as it desires. During these last hundred years, the economic, social and administrative roles assigned to the public sector have grown enormously. State activities have become vastly more complex, and are sure to become more so as time goes on. Citizens are now directly affected by government action on a host of matters for which local and private initiative were formerly responsible. French-speaking Canadians feel that several such new realms of governmental intervention are, like education in 1867, vital instruments for their collective self-expression. They now want to keep control over these fields because, in the long run, not merely their full

development as a people but their very survival will depend on it.

### An inevitable crisis

Quebecers have always known that if their enterprises are to attain success in Canada, they must exert themselves more than other Canadians, who have the dual advantage of numerical superiority and favouring Canadian economic and political institutions. But in addition, they now find their road to full self-achievement encumbered with fresh obstacles, including some which, under present conditions, seem more difficult to overcome than those they have met in the past. In general, during the last decade, not a minority but a majority of Quebecers have become aware that their situation is likely to grow worse if they do not act promptly to remedy it.

In sociological terms, Quebecers have witnessed the disintegration of the way of life which traditionally protected them. They had survived in good part because they lived in isolation, locked in upon themselves, clinging to the past in a typically rural environment where the state's presence was marginal. Almost overnight, they found themselves in an industrial society requiring massive intervention by the state, open to the whole of North America and exposed to the influence of foreign, especially American, culture, backed by such powerful means of communication as speedy transport, highways, cinema, radio and television.

In demographic terms, they have become aware that, even though they form some thirty per cent of Canada's population, they constitute a tiny group in comparison with the North American English-speaking community.

On the economic level, they have come to understand that the industrial society in which they



were henceforth to live had not been created by them, but by others not sharing their cultural values. And also that, in a world where economic might confers enough de facto advantages to make de jure claims unnecessary, they were - not always through their own fault - seriously lacking in means for effective action.

In political matters, as we have already said, they have realized that Canada's structure itself worked to their disadvantage and that the 1867 Constitution was far from giving them the protection they had traditionally anticipated.

Taking all this into account, it is incontrovertibly evident that our nation no longer has a choice. If it passively accepts the present situation, it will inevitably take the road to slow but sure assimilation into the great North American mass.

Hence, it has become vital that it do everything in its power to correct the present situation.

As French-speaking Canadians, we have the unshakeable conviction that we form a viable community sharing one of the greatest cultures in the western world, speaking an international language and endowed with vast human potentialities. That is why, despite all difficulties, we are resolved to preserve our identity. But there is more than this. The very act of asserting ourselves as a nation will certainly help greatly in giving Canada the identity she needs to distinguish herself from her powerful neighbour to the south. Moreover, we are convinced that, in future, nations like ours will have a role to play out of all proportion to their demographic strength. In short, we are willing to gamble on our possibilities as a people and want to act accordingly.

Several obstacles we now face as a nation can be overcome by our own efforts and by Quebec Government

action. But there are other aspects of this problem for which we alone cannot find a solution. We know that it can be solved if English Canada makes a serious effort. Up to a point, this community will have to alter its traditional approach to relations between our two linguistic groups. It will also have to abstain from opposition to substantial change in the country's political structure and in the present division of powers between the Canadian and Quebec governments.

What we in Quebec have become accustomed to call the Canadian constitutional problem is thus not wholly juridical in nature. We are dealing with a basically political and social problem, one of whose causes stems from the present Constitution.

#### An impotent constitution

A country's constitution is its fundamental law. To some extent, it lays down the rules of the game. In doubtful cases, appeal should be had to it, and it should be interpreted by appropriate tribunals. Governments under its sway must conform to it. Therefore, it is essential that a constitution properly reflect sociological reality in the country to which it applies and truly derive from the aims and aspirations of the human communities making up that country.

Does the 1867 British North America Act, even as interpreted and amended since its passage, meet these requirements, which are certainly not unreasonable for so obviously important a document as a constitution? To ask the question is already to suggest the answer, which is a forthright negative. The 1867 Constitution no longer in any sense conforms to present Canadian reality. We shall not undertake here any juridical analysis or study in semantics. We shall merely point out specific characteristics of today's Canada and her problems, then try to see how closely the present

Constitution does reflect these characteristics and whether it can contribute to solving new problems as they arise. The conclusions will be self-evident.

(1) In Canada there exists a French-Canadian nation of which the mainstay is Quebec. It can likewise be said that there exists an English-speaking nation, although its cohesion and self-awareness may, for understandable reasons, be less apparent than they are among French Canadians. Each of these two nations must have its fundamental right to full development recognized by the other, in law and in fact, if we want Canada to be able to operate as a political entity and advance as an economic entity. The most serious Canadian problem today is precisely that of the relation which should obtain between these two communities. Here the present Constitution offers no guidance, since it wholly ignores this essential aspect of Canadian reality. Our Constitution does not recognize the existence in our country of sociological groups called "nations", "nationalities" or "societies". Even though it refers to some individual religious rights and regulates the use of the English and French languages in a few federal and Quebec public bodies, it provides no specific rights for the communities which speak those languages.

(2) Canada now comprises ten provinces, no one like any other in people, size, climate, problems or resources. Logically, it would not seem desirable to formulate policies conceived as though all the country's provinces had been cast in the same mould. Yet except for a few provisions of secondary importance - accidental or transitory - our Constitution in principle now keeps all provinces on the same footing. It provides no opportunity for special federal-provincial arrangements adapted to conditions in a given province. In practice, these special arrangements can be effected but, whatever the intention may be, they cannot help appearing exceptional or temporary. In short, our Constitution makes some allowance for special situations existing when a given province entered Confederation; but, divorced from day-to-day reality, it does not allow for continuance and even intensification of differences between provinces once they became members of Confederation.



(3) Because of changes in the technical and social order, Canada today is faced with a whole series of problems which the Fathers of Confederation, however vivid their imagination, could not conceivably have foreseen. Consider, for instance, town-planning policy, regional development, economic stability, telecommunications, atomic energy, the space age, manpower policies, educational television and many other contemporary developments. Our Constitution is silent on these matters. Therefore, when a new problem arises in Canada, we are more and more likely to base each government's responsibilities for it, not on constitutional principles, but on considerations of the moment which, in turn, derive from a variety of factors such as relative capacity to act, financial resources or merely the political power wielded by a given area of government. Hence, even though there is a written document called the British North America Act from which we may expect some light to be cast on such traditional fields as education and municipal institutions, the allocation of new tasks among governments has not been guided by this document but by decisions mainly based on exigencies of the day. In some instances, the old Constitution has been amended to furnish grounds for action that was predetermined in any case. In others, the method used was to imagine the opinions the Fathers of Confederation would have held. Whether or not the provinces have participated in reaching such decisions, it is still true that our present Constitution, perhaps admirable during the age of steam trains, no longer suits Canada's needs in this era of interplanetary rockets.

(4) In addition, the modern world has stimulated more frequent and continuing relations between nations, groups and regions. This is as true at the Canadian as at the international level. Within Canada, developments in recent years have led governments to have increasing recourse to federal-provincial or interprovincial conferences to settle problems as they arose. Such meetings have become a necessity. It is hard to imagine how Canada could function efficiently today were not the representatives of the various governments to gather at more or less regular intervals to discuss among themselves policies to be followed. For the moment we do not intend to say how we believe these conferences should be prepared and managed;

the fact remains that so essential a means for co-ordination and consultation is not even mentioned in the country's present Constitution. Hence, intergovernmental meetings in Canada result far more from political, financial or administrative accidents than from rational and formal machinery for reciprocal consultation. In theory, nothing prevents their being eliminated at any time, even if such a turn of events is at present unlikely. It is also significant that a good many of these conferences are now made necessary by the ill-defined division of powers between the country's governments. So we are faced with a constitution which, over the years, has become vacuous whenever there is need to allocate public responsibilities whose very existence could not be foreseen in 1867, a constitution, moreover, including no clear provision or procedure for implementing the intergovernmental co-ordination often made necessary by its own omissions.

(5) In international affairs, the situation created by the present Constitution is equally confused. Practice established during the past half century, and not any constitutional text, gives the federal government responsibility for what we call foreign policy. Yet nowhere is this defined. Nor does the Constitution say anything about the bonds of every kind which, more tightly and in increasing number, link modern nations in fields almost all of which it reserves to the provinces. As a result, efforts to resolve any differences which may arise today between governmental sectors over relations they may or may not have with foreign countries or organizations are based on more or less acrobatic interpretations of the Constitution or of constitutional practice.

(6) Nothing in our Constitution clearly provides for settling such disagreements, whether they relate to international relations, culture, manpower or the administration of justice. In several essential matters, there is not even provision in the Constitution for amending it. Until now, every attempt to reach an acceptable amending formula has been based on an inaccurate interpretation of Canadian society.

To our minds, these few examples constitute sufficiently obvious evidence of the rift between our Constitution and the reality to which it supposedly applies. If to this be added the fact that no clear-cut rule, still valid today, governs the sharing of tax resources among Canadian governments, the only straightforward conclusion to be drawn, in our view, is that our country's fundamental law not only has a superannuated look, but is in fact a compilation of various unrelated customs, conventions and juridical documents and no longer fits the needs of modern government for the aspirations of the French-Canadian nation.

### Alarming empiricism

Some people have claimed that the present Constitution has been flexible enough to adjust to the changing conditions which marked the last few generations and that it did not prevent us from finding workable solutions to several federal-provincial problems in recent years. We feel that such arguments are invalid on two counts.

First, the Constitution has never been instrumental in settling federal-provincial disagreements. When we did work out temporary or permanent compromises, especially for Quebec, they came as a result of inter-governmental discussions which at times had every aspect of open warfare. Indeed, it was lack of an explicit constitution, complicated by basic political factors, that led to these clashes, costing both sides much wasted energy and creating misunderstandings which have yet to be cleared. Surely, in a country such as ours, there must be a better way of reaching an effective and lasting solution to difficulties attending allocation of responsibilities and distribution of the resources needed to carry them out. At any rate, we in Quebec are probably most directly concerned and we do not see why negotiations between governments in Canada should always take place in such an atmosphere of conflict.



Second, the French-Canadian nation considers the present Constitution no longer capable of providing the guarantees that should properly be expected from it. It is no secret that, even if our Constitution is always subject to interpretation whenever new problems spring up, both the interpretation and resulting practical arrangements usually favour the government sector whose political position is stronger; at times, this may be the federal government, at others, the provincial governments. Nothing in Canada today indicates which way the scale will tip in future. In a country with a single society, such a situation would at worst create administrative complications or regional uneasiness; in ours, it spells a lasting threat to the French-Canadian community and, with time, creates unbearable conditions. French Canada is quite prepared to take up the awesome cultural challenge it faces on the North American continent, but cannot be reconciled to the prospect of fruitless struggles in its own country, caused by its permanently unsettled situation.

Levelling criticism at a constitution because it is inexplicit or behind the times does not necessarily mean that the critic wants an inflexible replacement. We would readily agree that, however well drafted, a constitution cannot possibly contain answers to all problems.

True, constitutional problems seldom seem to take priority; but when they do, particularly in a federal system, political rather than legal implications become the issue. It seems to us that we are indeed going through one of those rare phases when, owing to their direct repercussion on the citizen's daily life, questions related to our country's Constitution - therefore our political institutions - take precedence. We must tackle them at the earliest opportunity, lest conditions grow worse, and so that we may concentrate our efforts on the solution of other urgent problems.

### The Canadian duality

The two languages widely spoken in our land, English and French, are both international languages. Those who speak French live mostly in one part of Canada, Quebec, where they constitute the great majority of the population.

Being the first Europeans to settle in this country, they are convinced that they form a nation in the sociological sense of the word. They have their own government, public and private economic, financial and administrative and cultural institutions. In short, they have a civilization of their own.

Because she also happens to be the home of an English-speaking society with a culture of its own, Canada is thus a binational country. Indeed, it is one or other of these two nations or cultural communities which have been joined by those of various origins whose arrival has enriched Canada since the beginning of the century.

In its relationship with the rest of the country, Quebec, as the mainstay and homeland of French Canada, is confronted by two kinds of problems which are not easily differentiated because in practice they often overlap.

When we consider for instance highway construction, some financial arrangements between governments, sales tax collection, measures designed to reduce water pollution, there are a host of questions where all provinces, Quebec included, meet on common ground.

But when we come to socio-cultural problems, Quebec's position is altogether different from that of the other provinces. We have in mind not only education, culture and language, but also social security, health, municipal institutions, certain credit establishments, regional development, adult training, manpower policies, cultural exchanges with other countries or, to put it briefly, everything that may be used as instruments for French-Canada's assertion and promotion of her economic, social and political institutions.

#### A new covenant

What then must be done to pave the way for the Canada of tomorrow is to lay the foundation of a covenant without which we shall continue to live in confusion, victims of contradictions arising daily between our anachronistic Constitution and Canadian reality.

The last half of this statement contains certain proposals in this respect for purposes of discussion.



- II -

THE CANADA OF TOMORROW

If Canada of tomorrow is to endure, it must rest on a new constitution that, as now, must group within the country a certain number of territories, which may be called provinces or states. More important however, it must also permit association by two societies co-operating within common institutions as well as respect for the basic collective rights and legitimate aspirations of each.

In the following paragraphs, rather than submit the draft of a new constitution in legal form, we shall elaborate briefly on issues which we feel should be the object of constitutional provisions. In each instance, we shall formulate opinions on which we would heartily welcome open discussion; we would like to know what English-speaking Canadians think of them, for what really matters - and such is the immediate purpose of our meeting - is that we get our heads together in order to examine the broad elements of the problem, without embarking on discussion of details. Besides, the Government of Quebec will have to weigh the implications of positions taken by the Estates General of French Canada and study the report prepared by our Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution. Naturally, we are also awaiting the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

We feel that the new constitution should be aimed at four goals:

(1) defining clearly the principles that are to guide Canadian political life;

(2) working out a new distribution of powers and resources to promote development of the French-Canadian nation and free evolution of English-speaking Canada;

(3) institutionalizing or establishing certain machinery for intergovernmental consultation, co-ordination and action;

(4) modifying the operation of some Canadian organizations and institutions, modernizing others and creating new ones so that, as a whole, they may reflect Canada's binational identity.

### Fundamental principles

A constitution is much more than a legal document; it is a guide and a source of inspiration. Objectives shared by all citizens must be embodied in the fundamental principles on which it rests as well as the ties which bind together nations, communities, groups and individuals of different language, history and culture.

With these considerations in mind, we believe that the constitution should begin by proclaiming Canada's absolute sovereignty.

The constitution should also acknowledge the existence in Canada of two nations, bound together by history, each enjoying equal collective rights. The new constitution must clearly spell out the principle that English and French are the country's two official languages.

The constitution must include a charter of human rights applying to the central government's constitutional jurisdictions. As for us, the Quebec Government intends to insert in Quebec's constitution a charter of human rights covering matters under provincial control.

Finally, a provision must sanction the principle of economic interdependence, mutual support and co-operation between states or provinces, with every regard for the country's binational character.

As for Quebec's internal constitution, it must naturally fall under its own exclusive jurisdiction.

#### Distribution of powers

The division of powers between central government and member-states remains the keystone of any federal constitution. To make headway, we submit certain proposals.

We believe that, as is the case in most other federations, provinces or member-states of Canada must retain all powers not expressly granted to the central government. In this way, we should have a better idea where the latter's jurisdiction begins or ends, and friction caused by encroachment from the centre would be greatly reduced.

Needless to say, we want to have reserve and disallowance powers eliminated from federal prerogatives and the Parliament of Canada divested of its declaratory power. Perhaps these provisions had some justification in earlier days, but we think that today, in matters within their jurisdiction, the provinces must be given complete internal sovereignty.

Other Quebec positions have already been made known. Thus, in the brief submitted in September 1966 to the fourth meeting of the federal-provincial Tax Structure Committee, we stated:

As the mainstay of a nation, it wants free rein to make its own



decisions affecting the growth of its citizens as human beings (i.e., education, social security and health in all respects), their economic development, (i.e., the forging of any economic and financial tool deemed necessary), their cultural fulfilment (which takes in not only arts and literature, but the French language as well), and the presence abroad of the Quebec community (i.e., relations with certain countries and international organizations).

Further in the brief, we stated that, while awaiting a new constitution, we would first have to proceed with a re-arrangement of functions, which might even be initiated within the framework of our present Constitution:

By this process, the Quebec Government would gradually become solely responsible within its territory for all public expenditures on every form of education, old age security, family allowances, health, employment and training of the labour force, regional development and, in particular, municipal aid programs, research, fine arts, culture, as well as any other social or cultural service within our jurisdiction under the present Constitution. Existing federal programs in these fields would be taken over by Quebec, which would maintain their portability where applicable.

It is not our place to tell the other provinces how powers in the Confederation of tomorrow should be divided between them and the federal government. We merely wish to make a few comments which may be pertinent.

We have just outlined the Quebec Government's general objective. To reach it, Quebec will necessarily have to obtain a new constitutional distribution of tasks giving her broader powers than she now exercises. We feel these broader powers are vital to Quebec, but this does not mean that we in any way object to the other provinces seeking exactly the same powers if they so desire.

If in fact they are willing to assume the same tasks as Quebec, it is quite conceivable to envisage a new constitution which would confirm much greater decentralization of powers to all provinces than now exists.

Naturally, we realize that other provinces may be prepared to entrust the central government with some powers which Quebec believes she must herself exercise. In our view, such an arrangement is not incompatible with federalism and solutions of this kind should be used without hesitation whenever sociological conditions in the country make them necessary. In this case, all provinces would, at the outset, be granted identical constitutional powers, provided that constitutional provision would make possible administrative or legislative delegation to the federal government. This way, the provinces themselves would decide the actual extent of their responsibilities under the new system.

Not wanting to prejudge their attitude on this matter, we thought it might be helpful to open the dialogue by stating some of our own positions, for later comparison with theirs.

#### Intergovernmental co-operation

If it is important to establish clearly the responsibilities of each area of government, it is equally essential to indicate here the methods of co-operation which would exist between each. The modern world no longer tolerates impassable barriers between governments, any more than it permits attributing any particular problem to a single cause. Quebec is fully aware of this fact; she feels she must increase her jurisdictional range in the Canada of tomorrow, not in order to isolate herself, but rather to be in a better position to bring her own contribution to collective wealth

through interdependence. Each government must be concerned with the impact of its actions on other governments.

Thus, even though the federal government has jurisdiction over currency, it must always reckon with the fact that monetary policy has concrete repercussions on other governments' action. Similarly, nobody will deny the provinces' exclusive responsibility for municipal affairs, but does this mean that their activities in this field have no effect on decisions required of the federal government in others? Not at all. And certainly the influence which provinces exert on one another is often apparent, even if each merely acts within the limits of its own jurisdiction.

As far as we are concerned, we prefer to establish a clear division between governmental responsibilities, then provide machinery for intergovernmental co-operation.

Above all, it is our feeling that we should institutionalize federal-provincial and interprovincial conferences. Of course, the constitution could not fix the frequency or agendas of such meetings. That would be unrealistic. It would probably be sufficient to stipulate the right of any government to take the initiative for convening such conferences.

Similarly, we should provide for the existence of well defined machinery for intergovernmental consultation and co-operation on economic policy. Here again, it would not be necessary to enter into details, but merely to express juridically the practical consequences of our incontestable economic interdependence. Economic policies in Canada cannot and must not depend exclusively on one government, in this instance federal. The provinces have and will continue to have a major interest in this field. There can be no question of excluding them from formulating and implementing various economic policies, particularly fiscal policies, if only because of the size of their own budgets and their influence on the economy. In any case, Quebec cannot agree to stay out of the economic policy field, for that would be tantamount to allowing another government to decide the course of her whole economy.

Fiscal matters, and more specifically fiscal arrangements are not on the agenda of this Conference, in accordance with the wishes of the Ontario Government which convened it. It is obvious that in the context of a new constitution exclusive jurisdictions must correspond to exclusive or paramount fiscal powers.

Further, in order to ensure the right of each citizen to comparable services, wherever he may live in Canada, the mechanisms of fiscal arrangements should be improved and, if necessary, institutionalized.

It is also our impression that we would have everything to gain by setting up a permanent interprovincial secretariat which, among other functions, would help keep provincial governments better informed on one another's legislation, administrative reforms, problems as well as the solutions adopted, policies and other matters. In addition, such a secretariat would permit more thorough preparation for interprovincial meetings of cabinet ministers and civil servants.

#### Canadian institutions

Whatever their immediate functions, it seems essential to us that federal institutions in the Canada of tomorrow take clear account, in their structure and aims, of the country's binational character. We want to express a few thoughts on the subject, in spite of the fact that this meeting is not a federal-provincial conference.

Steps should first be taken, by required means, to ensure genuine, effective and proportionate participation in the federal public service by French-speaking Canadians. There have been recent improvements in this respect, but this movement should be stepped up; above all, definite mechanisms should be provided to translate it rapidly into fact. In addition, it is vital that French become a current working language within all administrative services directly or indirectly dependent on the federal government, both in Ottawa and in areas with a French-language population. The same should be done in the Armed Forces.



We also think the federal capital should reflect the linguistic duality of the population. Equality of the two official languages should be confirmed in all capital area government services, be they federal, provincial or municipal. To this end, the purely federal "National Capital Commission" should become a tripartite "Federal Capital Commission" in which the three governments most directly concerned, those of Canada, Ontario and Quebec, would have equal prerogatives, each delegating to it the powers needed to administer an appropriate territorial area and assuming a proportionate share of its operating costs.

We further think it advisable to create a genuine constitutional tribunal whose composition would reflect the federal character of our institutions and the Canadian cultural duality.

We believe, also, that it would be advantageous to investigate the possibility of transforming the current Senate into a true federal House having a bicultural character.

Finally, we believe that establishment of a permanent federal-provincial commission on linguistic rights would do a good deal to ensure the recognition, in practice, by all governments concerned, of the equal rights of our two communities in this respect. Citizens and corporate bodies who felt their linguistic rights had been prejudiced would be entitled to lodge grievances or complaints with the commission. This advisory institution should in no way limit the competence of the constitutional tribunal with respect to language rights.

Of course, there are many things we might add concerning changes we think necessary in other Canadian institutions, such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, etc.

#### The language question and French-Canadian minorities

In concluding, it is important to draw very special attention to one of the major Canadian problems of the day: the status of French in Canada. We have already touched several times on this question, which we consider basic.

The Quebec Government is committed to making French a true national language in Quebec, while respecting the linguistic rights of the minority. We are currently studying various means of promoting generalized use of French throughout our territory, so that French-Canadian Quebecers in their home province may live and work in their mother tongue, just as English-speaking Canadians live and work in their own language in the other provinces.

But this will not solve the whole problem. Essentially, what French Canadians want is to be themselves and develop normally like any other people, in Quebec and in other parts of Canada. More particularly, they want to create in Quebec an environment conducive to their own growth. They also want it to be possible for members of their community settled in other provinces to develop as English-speaking Canadians can do in Quebec.

In a country like ours, we must begin by ensuring public education at all levels in Canada's two official languages wherever the English- or French-speaking group is sufficiently large. Obviously, this does not rule out the necessity of providing the French- or English-speaking groups with means of acquiring good command of the majority language in their environment. As for other government services such as departments, courts, administrative bodies, we believe the best way to avoid problems and render justice to the greatest number of people concerned is to deal with the question on a regional basis, without regard to provincial boundaries.

We expect to continue the dialogue initiated here at subsequent meetings.

(Translated from the French)





















